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STORM-MAKING SPRINGS: RINGS OF INVISIBILITY AND PROTECTION.—STUDIES ON THE SOURCES OF THE *YVAIN* OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROIES

CONJECTURES and studies on the sources of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troies have been as frequent in number as they have been varied in their results. One of the chief elements of the poem, the storm-making spring in the forest of Brocéliande, has received its due share of explanations, but not one of these has been based upon a study of other instances of this belief, its causes, its variations and its stages of development. Such a study in primitive beliefs and survivals will lead one far afield, but will, at least, obviate the occasion of future hypotheses upon the ultimate source of the episode. After having shown the universal belief in the sacredness of certain bodies of water, of which the disturbance, more or less violent, brought on needed rain, desired winds, or destructive storms, sometimes due to the personal activity of the resident spirit or spirits, I hope to show that the Celtic folk-tale, the source of the *Yvain*, retained this belief in the affinity between a spring, and its guardian spirit, who was ever ready to defend his watery domain. In this tale the spring was described with the natural concomitants of a spring devoted to the practise of the Celtic religion, a tree and a dolmen, or a circle of stones, and the Irish folk-tale, *In Gilla Decair*, which is a variant of it, has kept, closer than the *Yvain*, to the original story, in its description of the spring. Chrétien has amplified this incident of his original by two additions; a local Breton tradition, in which the sprinkling of a stone brought on rain, and a literary, pseudo-scientific belief in the power of a certain precious stone to bring on a storm. That both

these beliefs were almost universal will be set forth at length. That Chrétien was indebted to Wace for his account of the first has been already pointed out; and I shall show that he was indebted for the second to a *Lapidarius*, from which he also borrowed his account of the wonderful qualities attributed to the rings of Lunete and Laudine. I have made a point of citing the *verba ipsissima* of my authors, so as to bring out more emphatically the parallelism of the forms and rites of customs in widely separated countries.

The single instance of a rain-making spring in classic literature is in the well known account of Pausanias, of a ceremony performed at the sacred spring of Hagno in Arcadia:

If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.¹

The precaution taken by the officiating priest not to dip the branch into the depths of the spring was in order not to bring on a storm, instead of the beneficent rain besought from the nymph of the fountain.² The rain-cloud rose from the spring,³ and the branch was only the instrument of disturbance, if the priest used a branch of the tree sacred to the god to whom he administered.⁴ The branch was not used either to sprinkle water on the ground, as in ceremonies of imitative magic for making rain,⁵ or to beat the water with, as in other magical rites, made for the same purpose.⁶ Was

¹ *Description of Greece*, translation J. G. Frazer, VIII, 38, 4.

² Cf. F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia imperialia* (1856), 148-9; Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, II, 341. In the light of the universal prevalence of the belief, R. Fritzche is much nearer the truth in regarding the ceremony as a survival in Pausanias's time of the naturalistic worship of the south Achaeans (*Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Alterthum*, XIII, 617), than J. W. Hewitt, who considered the ceremony primitive and peculiar to Arcadia, and not contemporaneous with Pausanias (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIX, 79).

³ Cf. Hewitt, *l. c.*

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., II, 359 ff.

⁵ As interpreted by Frazer, I, 309.

⁶ As supposed by a number of scholars; cf. A. Zingerle, "Ueber Berührungen tirolischer Sagen mit antiken" in *Tirolensia*, 122-3. I shall treat of this ceremony at length in the course of these studies.

the same power attributed to a spring near Delphi, into which the fatal necklace of Hermione was reported to have been thrown, if the one account of it makes the offended sun cause the storms? The fullest account of this tradition is;

Alcmaeon monile, occisa matre, Apollini consecrauit, quod in fontem missum hodieque cerni dicitur. Quod si quis manu attractauerit et ostenderit caelo, offendi solem et tempestates oriri.⁷

Pliny tells⁸ of a cave at Senta on the coast of Dalmatia, which caused a storm when anything was thrown into it, but this can hardly be cited as an example, any more than the cave in Tabaristan to which the same power was attributed, according to the testimony of al Bîrûnî, an Arabic writer, in a work written c. 1000.⁹ This same writer, however, gives, perhaps, the earliest account found in Oriental writers of a spring which brought on rain as soon as anything dirty was thrown into it. This spring was located in the mountains of Ferghana.¹⁰ al 'Otbi († 1036)¹¹ almost the contemporary Arabic historian of the conquest of India by Sabuktigin, in his *Alkitâb al Jemîni*,¹² tells how the Mohammedan conqueror in one of his expeditions, through his superior knowledge, caused the defeat of the opposing Hindu army by throwing some dirty substance into a fountain in a ravine of the hill of Ghûzak (Ghûrak) in the Lamghân valley in Afghanistan.¹³ This action

⁷ Lactantius *ad Theb.*, IV, 188; ed. Jahnke, 204. A shorter text is found in the *Mythographi vaticani*, II, 78. According to Apollodorus (III, 93; ed. Wagner) it was the sons of the slain Alcmaeon who dedicated the necklace to Apollo.

⁸ *Hist. nat.*, II, 44 (45).

⁹ *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Translat. C. E. Sachau, 235. On date *ib.* viii, ix. A similar phenomenon is connected with a hole in the mountain in the Emmenthal, in which Pilate is said to be buried (Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, 176) the "Wetterloch" near Krainburg, one near Rudenstein, a "Windloch bei Veternigk" and another at Katzenstein (Rochholz, 193, citing *Compendieuse Staatsbeschreibung*, Braunschweig, 1719, I, 183), and a hole in the Carpathians, near Dzar (H. F. Massmann, *Der Kaiserchronik*, III, 605, n. 1).

¹⁰ *L. c.*

¹¹ Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I, 314.

¹² Nöldeke, *Sitzungsab. d. Wiener Akad.*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, XXIII, 75-6. Another translation of the passage, differing in details, is found in Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, II, 20.

¹³ On its location see Elliot-Dowson, II, 436; *Alberuni's India*, transl. Sachau, I, 259.

caused such a frightful storm of rain, thunder and sand, accompanied by intense cold, that the Hindus were entirely discomfited. This Arabic work was most popular in both its original form and in a Persian translation,¹⁴ and is cited as the authority of a more detailed form of the story found in a Persian collection of historical anecdotes, the *Jawâmi'u'l-Hikâyât*,¹⁵ written by Muhammad 'Awfi in the first half of the thirteenth century. It was also doubtless the source of the accounts found in the works of two Persian historians, Mir Khwând¹⁶ in the fifteenth,^{16a} and Firishtah in the seventeenth century.¹⁷ The great Bâbur in his *Memoirs*,¹⁸ writing of the year 1524, when he was at Ghazna, connects this historical event with a spring near that city. A. F. Grimme writing in 1888¹⁹ on the sources of the *Yvain*, suggested that the episode in the Old-French poem owed its origin to this Oriental tale, which had been brought to the Occident by the Crusaders. He was only acquainted with the accounts of Mir Khwând and Firishtah, but postulated an earlier Oriental version of the tradition, a suggestion which has been fully substantiated. The belief is still extant in the northernmost part of India, where the Dards believe that if a piece of cow-skin be thrown into a spring in the Chaprot nulla by the order of the Thum of Hunza, accompanied by incantations, clouds arise and frightful storms rage over the district. However, that the storm-making power resides in the spring and not in the royal power,²⁰ is evident by the belief among the same people, that anything unclean thrown into a number of other springs causes storms.²¹

Another similar spring, more definitely located, has been described by travellers in Persia since the thirteenth century.^{21a} The

¹⁴ Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 20-1.

¹⁵ Elliot-Dowson, II, 182, cf. 156.

¹⁶ *Mohammedi Filii Chondschahi vulgo Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum persica* ed. F. Wilken, 147.

^{16a} E. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 447-8.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, note.

¹⁸ Transl. Erskine, 149-150; transl. Pavet de Courteille, I, 305.

¹⁹ *Germania*, XXXIII, 58.

²⁰ Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, 112; *Psyche's Task*, 10 ff.; *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., I, 332 ff.

²¹ A. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier* (1899), 209-210; cf. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh*, 95.

^{21a} Cf. below, p. 375.

author²² of the Arabic encyclopedic work *tuhfat al 'agâ' ib waturfat* as cited by Qazwini (c. 1203-1283)²³ in his great geographical work, tells of a mountain in the province of Damghan

with a spring on it, into which if any dirt be cast, a powerful wind blows in such a way, that destruction and devastation may be feared from it.²⁴

The same author's account of another spring in the same province is only a doublet of the tradition about the same spring:

One of the districts of Damâghân is a town called Kahn (?) in which is a spring called Bâdhkhâni. Whenever the people of the town wish the wind to blow for the winnowing of grain at threshing-time, they take a menstruous rag, and cast it into that spring; then the wind blows.²⁵

A. ibn Jahjâ 'Omari (1301-1348)²⁶ in his *Masâlik al absâr fi mamâlik al amsâr* speaks of a spring in Khorasan between Damghan and Astrabad, in which the water would boil and the air grow dark when any filth was thrown into it.²⁷ The Spanish traveller Clavigo tells how when about a league from Damghan, January 12, 1406, a strong cold wind sprang up that was scarcely bearable he was told:

que en una sierra que encima de la ciudad estaba, avia una fuente, é quando caía alguna alimania ó cosa sucia, venteaba tan recio que era maravilla, é que non cesaba fasta que limpiaban aquella fuente: é otro dia fué la gente con palos é garabatos, é limpiaron aquella fuente, é cesó el viento.²⁸

Describing the flight of the unfortunate Humâyûn, the son of Bâbur, to the court of Shah Tahmasp in 1544, Abû-l- Fazl the con-

²² On its possible authorship see Brockelmann, I, 358, n. 2; II, 699.

²³ Brockelmann, I, 481.

²⁴ Ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 245. An abridged statement to the same effect is found I, 158. To Professor Duncan B. Macdonald of the Hartford Theological Seminary I am greatly indebted for finding and translating the passages of Qazwini of which only one has been cited by Quatremère in his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en perse par Raschid-Eldin* (1836) 438.

²⁵ Qazwini, ed. cit., II, 245.

²⁶ Brockelmann, II, 141.

²⁷ Quatremère, l. c.

²⁸ Ed. I. Sreznevski, 349 (*Sbornik otdielenia Russkago iazyka y slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akad., Nauk, XXVIII*).

temporaneous historian, in marking off the stages of his itinerary, mentions Bostam, the town reached going westward, before arriving at Damghan:

Adjacent to this latter place is described . . . a fountain of water, into which through the operation of a Telessem, or Talisman, in times long past therein suspended, whenever any impure substance was cast an extraordinary turbulence in the superincumbent air was instantly produced, occasioning such a whirlwind of dust and atoms, as to darken all around.²⁹

The account of the spring and its attributes in the great geographical work *Jihân-numa* of the seventeenth century Turkish savant, Haji Khalfa,³⁰ and the comment in the eighteenth century Persian dictionary *Burhani Qatun* on Badhani (spring of the wind), "name of a spring in the canton of Hava in the province of Damghan":

If anything filthy falls in that spring, wind and flood arise to such a degree that it carries away a man and overthrows a horse,³¹

may be only the continuation of a literary tradition, but such is not the case with the accounts of the local tradition, noted by British travellers of the nineteenth century; Fraser (1821),³² Eastwick (1860),³³ Baker (1873)³⁴ and Lord Curzon (1889).³⁵ Of these accounts the most complete is that of Fraser, according to whom, if the waters of the spring are

polluted by the touch of any unclean thing, they become troubled, and a storm arises, which, if not speedily assuaged, would desolate the whole country. But as there are few evils which have not their corresponding remedies, it has been discovered that the sacrifice of a sheep, with certain appropriate rites upon the spot, has the effect

²⁹ Price, *Chronological Retrospect or Memoirs of the Principal Events of Mohammedan History*, III, 840-1.

³⁰ Quatremère, *l. c.*

³¹ Vullers, *lexicon persica-latinum*. I am indebted to my friend Dr. Louis H. Gray for a translation of the citation to which Nöldeke refers (*op. cit.* 75, n.).

³² J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822*, 312-313.

³³ E. B. Eastwick, *Journal of a Diplomat*, II, 157.

³⁴ Val. Baker, *Clouds in the East*, 138.

³⁵ G. N. Curzon, *Persia* (1892), I, 286. Cf. below, p. 375.

of pacifying the offended power; and gradually the storm abates, and the wind ceases.

The characteristics noted by Qazwini:

And if any one drinks of that water his belly is inflated and if any one carries any of it away with him, whenever it is separated from its source, it becomes stone,³⁶

—the medicinal effects and the calcareous deposits of the water,—are peculiar to mineral springs; its proximity to a sulphur spring³⁷ Chasmeh-i-Ali (Spring of Ali), famous for centuries for its curative effects in skin diseases,³⁸ shows its location in an ancient volcanic region. Mineral and thermal springs have been wont to attach superstitions to themselves.³⁹ A disturbance of such a spring near Damghan, when its waters were still hot, would cause a cloudlike vapor to rise, and the disengaged gases to rush out of a confined passage with violence. The primitive philosophic conception *post hoc propter hoc* gave birth to the belief that a certain wind blowing coincidentally with the disturbance of the spring, was due to such an action. The belief would have lived on in tradition long after the cessation of the physical phenomenon.

Lake Baikal in Siberia was believed by the inhabitants of its shores to cause a storm, in anger at being called a lake instead of a sea.⁴⁰ In the Far East the most important part of a rain ceremony among the Annamites takes place when the chief celebrant throws a dog to whose neck a written prayer is attached, into a stream flowing from the cave of Chua-Hang or Troc, in which is an altar dedicated to the spirit of the cave. "This is done in order to provoke the spirit of the cave to anger by defiling his pure water; for he will then send abundant rains to sweep away the carcass of the dead dog which polluted the sacred grotto."⁴¹

³⁶ Ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 245.

³⁷ Curzon, I. c. de Blocqueville (1860) confuses the two springs ("Quatorze Mois de Capivité chez les Turcomans," *Tour du Monde*, XIII, 231).

³⁸ Mir Khwând after A. Jourdain, *Not. et Extr.*, IX, 137; G. C. Napier, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XLVI (1876), 69-70.

³⁹ J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., IV, 2d ed., 172 ff.

⁴⁰ Bell, "Travels in Asia" (1720) in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, VII, 350. For two other records of the same belief in 1692 and 1735 see F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 336, and one of 1862, de Bourboulon, *Tour du Monde*, XI, 255.

⁴¹ Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, 301-2; for account and views of cave see C. Lemire, "Aux monuments anciens des Kiams," *Tour du Monde*, LXVIII, 411-415.

In Europe storm-making bodies of water are found even more frequently than in the Orient. The earliest account is that given by Gregory of Tours in his *Liber in gloria confessorum* (588-594).⁴²

Mons enim erat in Gabalitano territorio cognomento Helarius, lacum habens magnum. Ad quem certo tempore multitudo rusticorum, quasi libamina lacui illi exhibens, lenteamina proieciat ac pannos, qui ad usum vestimenti virili praebentur; nonnulli lanae vel lera, plurimi etiam formas casei ac cerae vel panis diversasque species, unusquisque iuxta vires suas, quae dinumerare perlongum puto. Veniebant autem cum plaustris potum cibumque deferentes, mactantes animalia, et per triduum aepulantes. Quarta autem die cum discendere deberent, anticipabat eos tempestas [immensa] cum tonitruo et coruscatione valida; et in tantam imber ingens cum lapidibus violentiam discendebat, ut vix se quisque eorum putaret evadere. Sic fiebat per singulos annos et involvebatur insipiens populus in errore.⁴³

This account of a pagan belief had, doubtless, its source in a local tradition which Gregory heard in Gevaudan⁴⁴ from a clerical informant, and has such omissions and misunderstandings that it can only be interpreted in the light of similar practises elsewhere. That articles of men's clothing formed part of the offerings⁴⁵ shows that the latter was made to the personified deity or deities of the lake, to whom the usual offering of food⁴⁶ was also made. The object of the ceremony was to invoke rain, either in cases of drought, or more probably in the same season every year, and its efficacy was shown by the assured breaking-out of a violent storm after the three days spent in the ceremony. Perhaps even more untrustworthy is the account of the continuation of the ceremony under Christian dispensation, as given by Gregory. A certain bishop of Gevaudan persuaded the people to bring their offerings to the chapel he had built near the lake in honor of St. Helarius. Because relics of the

⁴² Arndt, M. G., *Script. Rev. Merovingicarum*, I, 15.

⁴³ Ed. B. Krusch, *SS. R. Merov.*, I, 749.

⁴⁴ On Gregory's acquaintance with Auvergne cf. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'Histoire mérovingienne*, 36, 145.

⁴⁵ Cf. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1849, II, 381.

⁴⁶ Martin von Bracara's *Schrift, De correctione rusticorum*, ed. C. P. Caspari; C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota* I, 172; cf. S. Berger, *Mélausine*, II, 26.

saint were there, no storm troubled the place at the time of the ceremony. The ruins of the chapel of St. Hilary still remain near this lake, which has been identified as Lake St. Andéol, an ancient crater on the Montagne de Cacoubattut, one of the Cévennes ridge, of which Mt. St. Andéol is one of the peaks. As late as 1871 people gathered there on the second Sunday of July, "la fête de l'épine," a local feast which corresponds neither to the feast of St. Hilarius, January 14, nor to that of St. Andéol, May 1, to take part in ceremonies in which clothes and the fleeces of black sheep were thrown into the water.⁴⁷ The lake still holds its bad reputation as the cause of storms, and is known under the name of the Father of Hail-Storms.⁴⁸

The next account is found in the Irish translation of Nennius,⁴⁹ made in the tenth or eleventh century.⁵⁰ To the *Mirabilia* translated, is added among others that of the well of Sliabh Bladhma—the Slieve Bloom ridge of mountains, on the border of Kings and Queens counties.⁵¹

If any one gazes at it, or touches it, the sky will not cease to pour down rain until mass and sacrifices are celebrated.

Six centuries later, when there was no danger of attributing supernatural powers to a pagan deity whose favor might be gained by offerings, in a legend connected with a lake on the Franco-Spanish border, the guardian spirits had become demons. Giraldus Cambrensis in his topographical work on Ireland, completed by 1187, gives an account of the same spring, which he fails to name but locates in Munster, much fuller in detail than the Irish account. According to him the showers of rain:

"Non cessabunt, donec sacerdos ad hoc deputatus, qui et virgo fuerit a nativitate, missae celebratione, in capella quae non procul a fonte ad hoc dignoscitur esse fundata, et aquae benedictae, lactisque vaccae

⁴⁷ Prunières, "Les constructions et stratifications lacustres du Lac St. Andéol," *Mém. de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Sér. I, vol. III, 355-6, 358, 382 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ib.* 391 ff.; S. Baring-Gould, *The Cevennes* (1907) 18-19.

⁴⁹ Ed. Todd, 197.

⁵⁰ R. Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Philol.*, XXVIII, 81-2, 103. There is not sufficient evidence on which to accept Zimmer's precise date of 1072 (*Nennius Vindicatus*, 114 ff.

⁵¹ Zimmer, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Alterthum*, XXXV, 85.

unius coloris aspersione, barbaro satis ritu et ratione carente, fontem reconciliauerat."⁵³

The next account is that of Gervaise of Tilbury in his *Otia imperialis*,⁵⁴ written about 1211, of a lake on Mons Cannarum (Canigú) in Catalonia, "aquam continens subnigram et in fundo imperscrutabilem," reported to be the residence of demons:

In lacum si quis aliquam lapideam aut alias solidam projecerit materiam statim, tanquam offensis daemonibus, tempestas erumpit.

The reason this belief was attached to a body of water on an inaccessible mountain "et pro magna parte inaccessibilis ad ascensum" is apparent, when one finds to-day in the valley of the mountain, and its close vicinity, sulphur baths of great reputation.⁵⁵ It is not such an easy matter to identify a "fons quidam pellucidus" "in provincia regni Arelatensis,"⁵⁶ of which the same author relates that for the same cause "statim de fonte pluvia ascendit, quae propicientem totum humectat."⁵⁷ Not more easy to locate is a pond Haveringemere, in England near the Welsh border, of which he tells that a destructive storm came on as a punishment, when any-

⁵³ *Topographia Hibernica*, Dist. II, cap. 7; *Opera*, ed. Dimock, V, 89. On Giraldus as an authority on Irish matters cf. C. Boser, *Romania*, XXII, 586; Zimmer, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Alt.*, XXXV, 112, n. The Norse *Speculum Regale*, written in the early part of the thirteenth century (E. Beauvois, *Revue critique*, 1886, I, 102-3; E. Mogk, *Pauls Grundr.*, II, 1, 141; F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, II, 99) credits quite other marvels to two springs on Slieve Bloom (ed. Brenner, 36, lines 19 ff.). K. Meyer's opinion that this Norse account had its source in local oral traditions (*Folk-Lore*, V, 301, 314 ff. *Erin*, IV, 2, 14; and cf. *Zeit. f. celtische Philologie*, V, 23-4) instead of in a version of the Irish *Mirabilia*, is not confirmed by the published versions of the latter, or by its wide influence in Icelandic literature (cf. T. Frank, *American Journal of Philology*, XXX, 148), due to the close and multiple relations between England and Scandinavia since the Norman Conquest (cf. H. G. Leach, "The Relations of the Norwegian with the English Church, 1066-1399, and their importance to Comparative Literature," *Proc. of the Americ. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLIV, 531 ff. *Mod. Philol.*, VIII, 607-610).

⁵⁴ Ed. F. Liebrecht, 32. Liebrecht suggested that the Spanish name was "monte de las cañas" (*Ib.*, 139; *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, III, 159).

⁵⁵ Baedeker, *Southern France*, 4th ed. (1902), 187-9.

⁵⁶ On date and varied use of "regnum Arelatense" see P. Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne* (1138-1378), xx-xxi.

⁵⁷ Ed. cit., 41-42.

one while crossing it cried out: "Phrut Haveringemere, and alle those over the fere."⁵⁸

A seventeenth century collector of the wonders of natural phenomena may have referred to the lake on Mt. Canigú, in the account he gives of a nameless lake:

En un certain Lac, qui est entre noz monts Pyrénées, si quelqu'un jette une pierre, il ne faudra de veoir bientost, après auoir ouy vn estrange bouillonnement dedans le creux de cest abysme, des vapeurs et des fumées, et puis des nuages épais, et après l'espace de quelque demie-heure c'est merveille des tonnerres et esclairs, et de la pluie qui s'esmeut de ceste esmotion faite en l'eau, qui est cause que le pauvre peuple pense que ce soit une gueule d'enfer,⁵⁹

but he had the chance of a choice in the same mountainous region of France. Storm-making powers, which were incited by throwing in a stone, were attributed to La Pavin, an ancient crater, filled with water, near Besse in Auvergne, according to the testimony of seventeenth and eighteenth century writers,⁶⁰ and local tradition keeps the belief alive to the present day.⁶¹ A legend attributed the same powers to the lake which once occupied the crater of Bar, in the department of Haute Loire:

Les habitants du Forez se seraient plaints des orages que le lac de Bar attirait et déversait sur leurs terres. Ils seraient venus à main armée le dessécher avec du vif-argent.⁶²

The easternmost peak of the Cévennes range is Mt. Pilat, not far from Lyons. On it is a small lake, which, when visited by the botanist du Choul in the middle of the sixteenth century, was known as the spring of Pilate, and reputed to be the source of hail-storms.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 41. It has been identified (?) with Newton Mere, Shropshire (C. S. Burnes, *Shropshire Folk Lore*, 72). For explanations of the word "Phrut" cf. Liebrecht, *Germania*, XVIII, 457; XXI, 399; XXIV, 88; XXVI, 508.

⁵⁹ Belleforest, *Les dix histoires prodigieuses*, 1581, 336, cited by P. Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, II, 464.

⁶⁰ Merula, *Cosmographia*, 1614, ch. x; cited by Sébillot, *l. c.*; Legrand d'Aussy, *Not. et Extr.*, V, 265, n.; Baedeker, *op. cit.*, 225.

⁶¹ M. Gostling, *Auvergne and its People* (1911), 95.

⁶² Georges Sand, *Jean de la Roche*, ed. 1887, 113-114.

⁶³ *Pilati Montis in Gallia descriptio*, Lyons, 1555, cited by H. Dübi, "Drei spätmittelalterliche Legenden in ihrer Wanderung aus Italien durch die Schweiz nach Deutschland"; 1, Vom Landpfleger Pilatus, *Zeitschrift des Vereins f. Volks-*

The pool of Tabe, occupying the top of one of the peaks of the Pic St. Barthélemy, was accounted to be the dwelling-place of a terrible spirit, who brought on storms, not only for the usual cause, but also if any one used indecent language, sometimes striking the offender with a thunderbolt. If the demons who lived at the bottom of the three little lakes on the montagne de Villefranche, a hill belonging to the same group as the Pic St. Barthélemy, were provoked to cause storms by stones being thrown into their habitations, according to tradition,⁶⁴ the cause of this confirmed belief in this locality is apparent, when one is told that if a stone is thrown into one of these pools, known as l'Etang du Diable, there come out of it clouds with a choking odor of sulphur,⁶⁵ and when one also finds there springs, containing bicarbonate of lime, of considerable reputation.⁶⁶ Finally the same power is attributed to the "étangs ou Gorchs de Nohédes," also in the mountain-range of the Pyrénées-Orientales,⁶⁷ which contains all the other marvels. The Breton Feunteun-at-Glao (Fontaine-de-la Pluie), known now as the Feunteun-Sant-Kê, from its patron saint, or the Feunteun Lezlao from its locality, was such another spring, if the modern tradition in regard to it has changed the stone-throwing into an offering, and has transformed the disturbance of the water into a weather sign:

Ses eaux, très limpides par beau temps, devenaient troubles et bouillaient au moindre signe d'orage. Aussi accourait-on les consulter de tout le pays avoisinant. . . . On y laissait tomber des objets divers, en marmottant des oraisons appropriées soit pour solliciter la pluie aux époques de sécheresse, soit pour la conjurer, quand elle ne pouvait plus que nuire aux moissons.⁶⁸

Not until the fourteenth century⁶⁹ did Lake Pilatus in Switzerland, XVII, 62. In August, 1769, J. J. Rousseau only heard the tradition of "une fontaine glaçante, qui tuait, à ce qu'on nous dit, quiconque en buvait," which he sought for in vain (Letter of Oct. 10, 1769).

⁶⁴ Sébillot, I, 243; II, 464; A. Nore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France*, 80-1. Legrand d'Aussy (*l. c.*) refers to a "lac de Tarbes dans le comté de Foix," a misunderstanding, evidently, of the tradition about the lac de Tabe. Cf. Liebrecht, *Gerv. v. Tilb.*, 146, n.

⁶⁵ Sébillot, II, 463, n.

⁶⁶ Baedeker, *op. cit.*, 179.

⁶⁷ Sébillot, II, 464.

⁶⁸ A. Le Braz, "Les saints bretons d'après la tradition populaire," *Annales de Bretagne*, X (1894), 42.

⁶⁹ Dübi, 49 ff.

land receive the name it owes to the tradition which made it the burial place of the body of Pilate, tormented by demons who caused storms, though the same powers had been long attributed to it when it was a nameless lake.⁷⁰ And in 1387 we have official evidence that the belief that these storm-making powers were incited by throwing anything into the lake, was so firmly established that the authorities of Lucerne forbade access to the lake during the winter, guarded the passages, and severely punished those who violated the regulations.⁷¹ In the middle of the sixteenth century, the great Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner was only allowed to make the ascent to the lake under official guidance, and if he is incredulous about the belief, he does not undertake to controvert it.⁷² It was doubtless to get rid of an ever-threatening peril that in 1594 the Lucerne authorities decreed that the lake should be drained.⁷³ But it still exists, and the belief survived well into the nineteenth century,⁷³ together with the jeering rime:"

Pilat,

Wirf aus dein Kath (i. e. deinen Kath).⁷⁴

The fact that the lake is generally dry in the summer⁷⁵ shows at once why magical powers should be attributed to it, and why it should be feared in the winter months.

Numerous other lakes are found in different parts of the same country, which are fabled to bring on storms when any thing is thrown into them. These are the Wildsee near Vilters in Sarganserland; a lake in the Val Zeznina in Graubünden; the Calandarisee in the Schamser-Tal; the Wetterloch on the Kamor; the Urtensee in

⁷⁰ Cappeller, *Pilati Montis historia* (1767), 9; cf. Dübi, 52, n. 4. For the continuation of the official belief, Dübi, 52 ff.; Massmann, *op. cit.*, 604-5; E. du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, 356, n. 7.

⁷¹ Dübi, 61; cf. Laistner, *Nebelsagen*, 216.

⁷² Dübi, 62.

⁷³ On the continuation of the popular belief cf. Dübi, 53-7, 63; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., I, 496, n. 4; Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, 193; Hoffmann-Krayer, *Schweizerisches Archiv f. Volkskunde*, XIV, 225.

⁷⁴ For the continued use of the rime cf. Dübi, 62, Cappeller, 10; Lutolf, *Sagen sc. aus den fünf Orten Lucern, Uri sc.* 22. According to the earliest account of the burial of Pilate in Switzerland, that of Conrad v. Mure in his "Fabularius" (1273), he was buried in the Septimer pass, and when he was named or called, a violent noisy struggle would commence between him and Herod (Dübi, 49-50; cf. Laistner, 13).

⁷⁵ Baedeker, *Switzerland*, 19th ed. (1901), 99.

Schanfigg-Tal, the Lüschersee, between Domleschg and Savion, above Tschappina, and the Bischolersee near Flerda.⁷⁶ The evil spirits who lived in the Hezensee in Bern Oberland, caused storms, when they were annoyed in their retreat.⁷⁷ Boccaccio in his geographical work, *De montibus, sylvis, fontibus*, etc. (1342-6),⁷⁸ mentions a wonderful pool in the Apennines:

Scaphiolus modicus lacus est in apeninno, qui inter agrum pistoriensem atque mutinensem sublimatur, miraculo magis quam aquarum copia memorabilis. Nam ut omnes testantur accolae, si quis sponte vel fortuito lapillum vel rem aliam quae aquae moveat in eum proiciat, repente aer in nubes cogitur, et tanta ventorum tempestas oritur ut nonnunquam vicinae validissimae quercus fagique veteres truncentur aut radicitus evellantur. Quid animalia dicam si quae sint, si arbores enervantur et sic infesta omnibus per diem totam aliquando perseverat.⁷⁹

According to the local tradition of to-day this lake Scaffaiolo is the residence of demons, who cause storms when stones are thrown into it,⁸⁰ a superstition consonant with the existence of hot sulphureous springs in its immediate vicinity.⁸¹ That doughty pamphleteer Felix Hemmerlin in one of his accounts of the marvels of Lake Pilatus in his *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus*⁸² (1444-1450) cited a similar storm-making lake in the mountains between Bologna and Pistoja, near the Castel Sambuco. Without question he heard

⁷⁶ Rochholz, *l. c.* The Egelsee as a variation engulfs any one who throws a stone into it (Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau*, I, 9).

⁷⁷ Sepp, *Altbairischer Sagenschatz*, 460.

⁷⁸ O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, 111, n. 4.

⁷⁹ I cite from the Venetian edition of 1473, which is without folio numbering. Cf. Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, 775.

⁸⁰ G. Ungarelli, *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari*, I, 48.

⁸¹ Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (1905), 408.

⁸² Ed. s. l. a. et typ. (Hain *8426; cf. B. Reber, *Felix Hemmerlin*, 18, 30-32), cap. 32, fol. CXXVI. Dübi (55, and n. 2; 261, n. 1) refers to an edition of this work of 1497 unknown to bibliographers. The allusion to the Italian lake is not found in the account of Pilatus in the *Alius tractatus exorcismorum*—which is wrongly referred to as the *Tractatus exorcismorum*—in the 1497 edition of some of Hemmerlin's pamphlets (Hain *8424; fol. 55, recto) as one would imply from Dübi's citation (*l. c.*). Further Dübi has not noted Hemmerlin's acquaintance with the work of Conrad v. Mure, which he edited for publication (Reber, 26, 33-4, 351 ff.).

this local tradition of Sambuco, a small village a few miles north of Pistoja,⁸³ which had in its neighborhood some thermal springs, during his intermittent residence of many years at Bologna (1413-1424), while studying for his doctorate in canon law.⁸⁴

Pierre Berçuire, the correspondent of Petrarch,⁸⁵ in his *Reductorium morale* (1437-1440)⁸⁶ tells on the authority of a bishop—perhaps of the diocese containing it—of a lake near Norcia in the Apennines of Piceno, which was surrounded by a wall and guarded so that necromancers might not have access to it, in order to consecrate their books to the demons resident therein. It was necessary for the town to make an annual offering to the lake of a living man, otherwise the country would be devastated with storms.⁸⁷ In later writers to the end of the fifteenth century one finds that the name of Pilate and the tradition of his burial were connected with it, and that it was guarded against magicians because the ceremonies practised there brought on storms.⁸⁸ Here, again, we are fortunate in knowing the physical phenomena which were the primary source of these beliefs; the sudden rise and subsidence of the waters of the lake,⁸⁹ and the appearance of the vapor rising from its surface.⁹⁰ If this pool⁹¹ has no longer this attribute another one in the Val Bavona, in the neighborhood of Locarno, in which the soul of Pilate is confined, is responsible for storms, according to a legend of Ticino,⁹² which was due, perhaps to the chalybeate spring in that locality.⁹³

It is not surprising to find a number of storm-making bodies of water in South Germany, of which almost every mountain-pass

⁸³ Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 420.

⁸⁴ Reber, 53-4, 65 ff.

⁸⁵ P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarche et l'humanisme*, 2d ed., I, 66, 82, n. 2; II, 47, 230, n. 2.

⁸⁶ G. Paris, *Hist. lit. de la France*, XXIX, 506, 509, 524. The printed editions, from one of which Graf cites, represent the unrevised version of the work.

⁸⁷ A. Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, II, 150, 162.

⁸⁸ Graf, 150 ff. 163-4; W. Söderhjelm, "Antoine de la Sale et la légende de Tannhäuser," *Mém. de la Soc. Néo-philol. à Helsingfors*, II, 108 ff.; 138 ff.; Dübi, 56, 251.

⁸⁹ Graf, 153-4, 164; Söderhjelm, 152-3.

⁹⁰ Söderhjelm, 148.

⁹¹ It is called "un piccolo stagno," Graf, 165.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, 161; cf. Dübi, 51.

⁹³ Baedeker, *Switzerland*, 472.

contains a Pilatus Spring or Lake.⁹⁴ On Askeles the Blankensee brings on a rain-storm if a black stone, hail if a white stone is thrown in;⁹⁵ the same tradition is told of a lake in the Tyrols near Glaiten.⁹⁶ A Wettersee in a mountain near Gerlos in the Zillertal,⁹⁷ another in a mountain behind Navis near Innsbruck, and the Langensee, a traditional residence of witches, brought on storms when stones were thrown into them.⁹⁸ The same belief was attached to a lake in the Riesengebirge on the Bohemian border,⁹⁹ and to the Krimmlsee in the Austrian Tauern range.¹⁰⁰ Going westward again, we find the Mummelsee,¹⁰¹ the Wildsee, and a number of other lakes in the Black Forest,¹⁰² and one in the principality of Waldeck,¹⁰³ the brook and lake of Wöhlanda,¹⁰⁴ and Lake Peipus¹⁰⁵ in Esthonia.

In Esthonia, also, at Lais, near Dorpat, is a spring, known from its color as the Blue Spring;

In time of drought three widows of the same name must go to the spring on a Sunday during service-time, to clean it out and enlarge the opening. Each must take a spade, rake, a cake of bread,

⁹⁴ A. Schönbach, *Anz. f. deutsch. Alterthum*, II, 211. The legend of the demon-tormented body of Pilate is doubtless the revamping by Christian tradition of the belief (Frazer, G. B. I., 285) which survived in Europe, to at least the seventeenth century (F. C. Conybeare, *Folk Lore*, XIX, 332), that a skull, placed in water, had the power of causing a rain-storm. A similar belief is found in the late French epic and Arthurian romances (cf. P. Paris, *Les manuscrits françois*, II, 163; E. Freymond, *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie. Festgabe für G. Gröber*, 339, n., 341, n., 349; *Zeit. f. franz. Sprache*, XVII, 70, n. 2).

⁹⁵ J. V. Zingerle, *Sagen etc. aus Tirol*, 2d ed., 101; cf. 152-3, 614.

⁹⁶ *Ib.*, 154.

⁹⁷ von Alpenburg, *Mythen und Sagen Tirols*, 234.

⁹⁸ Zingerle, *op. cit.*, 151.

⁹⁹ J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, 215.

¹⁰⁰ Rochholz, *Schweisersagen*, I, 372.

¹⁰¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, 3d ed., I, 38, 243-4.

¹⁰² Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben: Sagen, Legenden, Volksglauben*, I, 78; W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen*, 376.

¹⁰³ Curtze, *Volksüberlieferungen aus dem Fürstenthume Waldeck*, 412.

¹⁰⁴ Grimm, D. M., 497, citing a pamphlet dated 1644.

¹⁰⁵ Sepp, *op. cit.*, 460-1, citing Schwenk, *Mythologie*, VII, 419. There is no authority for interpreting the phrase "Camarinam movere" (*Aen.*, III, 701), so as to find in it another instance of a wonder-working fountain, as Grimm (D. M., 496, n. 4) and Sepp (461) do.

and a hymn-book with her. But if too much rain falls, the spring must be closed up to a mere crevice, and this is at once efficacious.¹⁰⁶

In this Christian rehabilitation of a pagan usage we have the single instance of the belief that extraneous matter in a spring caused the drought, a variant of the usual belief, due probably to a misunderstanding on the part of the reporter. The ceremony of making a clear passage for the spring brought on rain, but too wide a passage resulted in too much of a good thing. The same care had to be exercised in this ceremony as in that at the spring of Hagno, and in that at the Tobar-mor (Great Well) or Tobar-rath Bhua-thaig¹⁰⁷ (Lucky Well of Beathag) on the island of Gigha, off the western coast of Kintyre, if in the latter case a favorable wind instead of rain was desired. The minister of the parish at the end of the eighteenth century reported that it was covered with a heap of stones, that was only removed with great solemnity, by two old women who were said to have the secret. Then the well, having been cleaned with a wooden dish or clam shell;

the water was several times thrown in the direction from which the wished-for wind was to blow, and this action was accompanied by a certain form of words, which the person repeated every time he threw the water. When the ceremony was over, the well was again carefully shut up to prevent fatal consequences, it being firmly believed that, were the place left open, a storm would arise which would overwhelm the whole island.¹⁰⁸

That those who officiated had added something to the original ceremony is evident, not only from the analogous Esthonian ceremony, but from earlier accounts of this one. A century earlier,¹⁰⁹ the master of a wind-bound foreign boat paid a native to let the water run, and twenty years earlier, Pennant¹¹⁰ only heard of the custom

¹⁰⁶ W. F. Kirby, *The Hero of Esthonia*, II, 145. On another rain-making ceremony near Dorpat cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, 248.

¹⁰⁷ "It is very insignificant and known now by a name pronounced *Tobar a v'èac*, possibly for an older *Mo-Bheac*; in Scotch Gaelic *Bèac*, written *Beathag*, is equated with the name *Sophia*" (J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore* (1901), II, 692).

¹⁰⁸ W. Frazer, in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, VIII (1793), 52, n.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland" (1703), in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, III, 647.

¹¹⁰ "Second Tour in Scotland in Pinkerton," *op. cit.*, 271 (June 29, 1772). This is the source of Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming's knowledge (*In the Hebrides*, 36). Rhys found the tradition of clearing the well in 1900 (*l. c.*).

of the wind-bound chieftain ordering the well to be cleared. According to a more recent tradition, a storm, caused by taking away a stone from the well, only stops when the stone is replaced.¹¹¹

At Kilchattan on the island of Colonsay, one finds near the ruins of the church of St. Chattan and of the house of the chief of the M'Mhurichs, an artificial rock-basin, known as the Cuidh Chattain. The chief—and only he had the power—only needed to clear out the rubbish that had collected in it towards the direction in which the wind was desired, and the wind was sure to come and blow it back into the basin.¹¹² Near Scallasaig on the same island was a natural hollow in the rock, known as the Tobar na gaoith deas (Well of the South Wind), because the chief of the Macphies could through some rite not described, bring on a south wind whenever he wished.¹¹³

The primitive ceremony was once practised at the spring of Cai, near Dol, Brittany,¹¹⁴ which jetted out of the ground at the prayer of St. Teilo, according to a version of his life, written in Wales in the first half of the twelfth century.¹¹⁵

Nam nautae illius gentis Armoricae, propter ventum consuetum ad naves illorum ut in dirigium navigare possint ad rectum iter ubi velint, consuetum habent illum salvificum fontem purgare et sepius et sepius per interventum sancti pontificis Dominus largitur precarium illorum.¹¹⁶

The intercession of the saint in heaven is a conventional hagiographical touch. The same ceremony was still practised in the nineteenth century on the Tobar na-coragh (Well of Assistance) on the island of Innismurray, off the coast of Sligo, in Ireland. When

¹¹¹ J. N. Mackinlay, *Folk-lore of the Scottish Lochs*, 223. The only analogue to this tradition is that told of a hill in Mauretania, known as the tomb of Antaeus: "Unde ubi aliqua pars eruta est solent imbres spargi, et donec effossa repleantur eveniunt" (P. Mela, *Chorographica*, III, 10 (106) ed. C. Frick). Cf. Frazer's comment, *G. B.*, I, 286.

¹¹² J. B. Mackenzie, "Notes on Some Cup-marked Stones and Rocks near Kenmore and their Folk-lore," *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXXIV (1900), 333.

¹¹³ *Ib.*, 331.

¹¹⁴ J. Loth, "La vie de Saint Teliau d'après le Livre de Llandaf," *Annales de Bretagne*, X, 75-6.

¹¹⁵ Loth, *Ann. de Bret.*, IX, 81; X, 77.

¹¹⁶ Loth, *op. cit.*, IX, 439.

there had been tempestuous weather, it was the custom of the natives to drain its waters into the ocean, which when accompanied with certain prayers, would induce calm weather.¹¹⁷

Within recent times at the spring of Notre Dame de Quelven, in Brittany, the same rite was performed in times of drought, for the invocation of rain, by a professional pilgrim, who took to his task a candle, lighted in the chapel.¹¹⁸ At a number of springs in Eastern France, one in the parish of l'Espine in the Hautes Alpes, the fontaine de Saint-Martin, at Chissey en Morvan, the fontaine de Saint-Rouin at Resson, and the fontaine Cruanne in Côte-d'Or, the rite was performed for the same purpose by one, or several maidens whose chastity must be assured.¹¹⁹

There is no evidence of the existence of the practise in Protestant countries, no doubt because it was discouraged as "a folly tending to charming, witchcraft, or scorcery," to cite a phrase of the sentence of the court of the Isle of Man in 1628 in fining a certain Elizabeth Black, who had been accused of emptying "a springing well dry for to obtain a favourable wind."¹²⁰

Sir Walter Scott after citing Gervaise of Tilbury's account of the demon-inhabited lake on Mt. Canigú, and its rain-making powers, remarked: "It may be proper to observe, that the superstitious ideas concerning the lake on the top of the mountain, is common to almost every high hill in Scotland."¹²¹ In Wales up to within recent times, old people used to say: "You must not throw stones into the well, or you will raise a storm, and the same warning was given in regard to lakes and rivers."¹²²

¹¹⁷ W. F. Wakeman, *Proc. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Soc. of Ireland*, 4th Ser., VII, 300.

¹¹⁸ Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, II, 225.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 224. In countries as far remote as Peru in the early seventeenth century, and southeastern Africa in the late nineteenth century, the cleansing of reservoirs, natural or artificial, is part of a rain-ceremony. F. de Aven-
daño in his *Relación de las idolatrias de los indios* (Lima, 1617) tells how the native Peruvians "cuando limpiaban las acequias y al principio del invierno, piendo à los idolos lluvias" (Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima*, I, 383), and the Baronga women as part of a long ritual, "go about from well to well, cleansing them of the mud and impurities which have accumulated in them. The wells . . . are merely holes in the sand" (Frazer, *G. B.*, I, 267).

¹²⁰ A. W. Moore, "Water and Well Worship in Man," in *Folk Lore*, V, 219, citing *Liber Scaccarii*.

¹²¹ *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ed. 1833), II, 271.

¹²² Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, 6.

Among the primitive beliefs of the natives of the Western continent, one finds that of storm-making lakes. The Spanish ecclesiastical authorities of Lima issued, probably as early as the end of the sixteenth century, a questionnaire for the guidance of those who confessed the Indians. A part of the sixteenth question was: "Into what lakes do they throw stones in order that they may not dry up, and that the rains come?"¹²³ To-day the Indians in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca have the same belief, as dancers named Chayllpa go to the top of a height of the name of Calvario, gather some stones, which they throw into the lake, to bring on rain.¹²⁴ If toads are sometimes substituted for the stones, it is doubtless because greater potency is attributed to this aquatic animal, which plays an important part in other rain-charms.¹²⁵ A lake in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, was also said to cause a storm if a stone were thrown into it.¹²⁶

In three instances the virtues of the well or lake itself could be carried elsewhere. In Wales the people drew water from Gallionen Well in Glamorganshire, near Pont-ar-Dawe, sprinkled it there, or in their gardens, dancing round and crying three times, "Bring us rain."¹²⁷ The first part of the question of the Lima questionnaire, already cited,¹²⁸ was: "From what lakes do they draw jugs of water to sprinkle on the priestess (la chacara) and pray for rain?" In a certain province of China is a well sacred to the god of rain. Whenever a district suffers from drought a messenger is sent thither to take from it an iron tablet, depositing another in its place.¹²⁹ In

¹²³ P. J. de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru* (Lima, 1621), 86, cited by A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, 155. It may have appeared originally in the anonymous *Confessionario para los Curas de indios. Con la instruccion contra sus Ritos*, published at Lima in 1583 (Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, I, 21). It is repeated in the *Carta pastoral* of de Villagomez, published at Lima in 1629 (Medina, I, 424-5), as cited by Riberó y Tschudi, *Antigüedades de Peru*, 173.

¹²⁴ Bandelier, *op. cit.*, 103.

¹²⁵ Frazer, I, 292, 325; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization* (N. Y., 1873), 203; Weinhold, *Abhand. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1896, 23, 26.

¹²⁶ Legrand d'Aussy, *l. c.* I have not been able to substantiate this statement, for which no authority is cited.

¹²⁷ Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, 14.

¹²⁸ The drawing of the water might be only incidental to sprinkling the priestess, a mimetic magical performance to make rain, which is widely practised (Frazer, *G. B.*, 267, 272 ff.).

¹²⁹ *New York Evening Post*, July 15, 1909, citing *North China Gazette*.

returning the messenger must be very circumspect, not to have the tablet taken away from him by the inhabitants of the districts, through which he passes, who might also be suffering from a drought, and who would receive all the benefits of the rain, when in possession of the tablet.

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(To be continued)

Postscriptum.—P. 358, l. 28, *add as note on "since the thirteenth century"*: A. V. W. Jackson (*From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Kayyam*, 175) cites as the earliest account a passage of ibn al Faqin, †902 (De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, v, 310), about a cave in Tabaristan mentioned above, p. 357.

P. 360, l. 19. *Add*: According to a local tradition, collected in the middle of the last century, the touch of a heretic also brought on a storm. Aga Mohammed Khan wishing to test the truth of the tradition, his whole army was thrown down in an instant by a wind (Melgunoff, *Die südlichen Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 1862; 144).

P. 360, l. 21. *Read*: Curzon (1889) and Jackson (1910; *op cit.*, 174-5).

P. 373, l. 3. *Add*: Here again, St. Molaise, who had blessed the well, appeared in the rôle of an intercessor between man and God (J. O'Donovan in Wakeman, *Antiquarian Remains in Inismurray*, p. xx).

THE PASTOR AND BOBO IN THE SPANISH RELIGIOUS DRAMA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AS in other parts of Europe, the origin of the drama in Spain must be sought in the Church liturgy. We have but few examples of early Spanish missals, but the literary relations in the Catholic Church were so close during the Middle Ages that we may use the texts which refer to the liturgical services in other countries. The Mass in itself is essentially dramatic, and it is known that at an early period, the *Gloria in excelsis* was chanted antiphonally. In the ninth century, the *Antiphonarum* of Gregory the Great was enriched by the insertion of new melodies and certain texts called tropes were written for these melodies.¹ A trope preserved in a ninth century manuscript at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall contains a colloquy between the Maries and the angel at the sepulchre which follows closely the Gospels of Matthew and Mark:—

*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, [o] Christicolae?
Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae.
Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat.
Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro. Resurrexi.*²

Just as this trope was formed about the sepulchre, the *Officium Pastorum* is based on a Christmas dialogue about the *praesepe* or cradle. Two *diaconi induti dalmaticis*, standing behind the altar, sang:

Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?

And two *cantores in choro*, replied:

*Salvatorem Christum Dominum.*³

These tropes formed the basis for dramatic development, and show the beginning of the liturgical drama. In the course of time new elements were added to the scene at the manger, such as the *Magi* or *Tres Reges*, a theme which was closely associated with the

¹ Chambers, *Medieval Drama*, chapter XVIII.

² Gautier, *Histoire de la Poésie liturgique au Moyen Age*, p. 220.

³ Chambers, vol. II, 41-44.

adoration of the shepherds. It has been shown that at an early date the liturgical Prophet play also was combined with the older Adoration and Magi liturgical plays. The origin of the Prophet play is a pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judæos, Paganos, et Arianos*, which was read in the churches at Christmas time, and is of such a form as to lend itself naturally to dramatic representation.⁴ All the Old Testament witnesses to the coming of Christ were summoned, together with Virgil, the Sibyl and such others as were believed to have foretold the Savior's advent.

A passage of the *Siete Partidas* (1252-1257) of Alfonso el Sabio proves that representations were held in the churches of Spain on Christmas and that plays of the adoration of the shepherds and the coming of the Wise Men were allowed.⁵ The *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*,⁶ which probably dates back to the beginning of the twelfth century, is all that remains of this early period of the Spanish religious drama. It is based on one of the Latin Offices celebrated at Limoges, Nevers, Compiègne and Orléans. There is no action in the play: it contains a certain element of realism, but the tone throughout is devout. Other documents for this early period are scarce, but we have interesting details of a Christmas representation at Saragossa in 1487.⁷

The earliest descendant which has been preserved in the vernacular of the *Officium Pastorum* is the *Representación del Nacimiento* by Gómez Manrique, written at the request of his sister and represented at the convent of Calabazanos.⁸ After an angel has announced to Joseph that Mary will give birth to the Savior, the proclamation is made to the shepherds. They leave for the manger, and sing in praise of the Child and his mother. Here the liturgical drama has become secularized but not popularized. The song, *Cancion para callar al niño*, which closes the play is significant, for similar songs are found in nearly all the later shepherds' plays. It un-

⁴ The origin of the Prophet Plays has been studied by M. Sepet in five articles published in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXVIII, 1, 211; XXIX, 105, 261; XXXVIII, 397.

⁵ Schack, *Historia de la Literatura y del Arte dramático en España*, vol. I, p. 219.

⁶ Pub. by Baist, Erlangen, 1879.

⁷ Schack, *ibid.*, pp. 267-68.

⁸ Published by Paz y Melia, *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, vol. I, p. 198 ff.

doubtedly has its origin in the carols which were sung by the sacristans and acolytes in the various Church festivals. No attempt was made to give a realistic picture of the life of the shepherds. There is no comic element to detract from the sacredness of the subject.

We know that in early times, certain popular elements were introduced in connection with the celebration of the Church festivals. At the Council of Toledo held in 589, the use of dances and *cantares profanos* in the churches was forbidden. In the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso el Sabio, the clerics were prohibited from representing "*juegos de escarnio, porque los vengan á ver gentes*," and this prohibition was repeated by the Councils held at Toledo in 1324 and 1473. It is possible that these *juegos de escarnio* censured by Alfonso el Sabio were a distant echo of the Roman *fabulae Atellanae*. Two stock figures of the latter, Maccus the fool and Manducus the guzzler, seem to appear as the *Pastor* and *Bobo* in nearly all the religious plays of the sixteenth century and even earlier. Yet I do not believe that the comic element in the religious plays represents a fusion of the popular farce and liturgical drama. Although the popular farce which was forbidden in the churches by the *Siete Partidas* may have been a contributing factor, there is good ground to believe that the comic element is a logical development of the shepherds' plays represented on Christmas.⁹

We already find the fusion of comic and sacred elements accomplished in a sort of eclogue by Fr. Iñigo de Mendoza, forming a part of his *Vita Christi*, first published about 1480.¹⁰ This is a scene in dialogue form relating the appearance of the angels to the shepherds to announce the Nativity and written in the same *lenguaje villanesco* which had been used by the author of the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*. Fr. Iñigo introduces the episode in this manner, apologizing for the use of comic elements in a sacred subject:

⁹ Wilmotte has shown in an interesting article, *Naissance de l'élément comique dans le théâtre religieux*, pub. in *Annales internationales d'histoire*, Paris, 1900, that in France, the comic scenes in the religious plays are the direct outgrowth of the liturgical drama and that the popular farce had no influence in the creation of the various comic characters.

¹⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. VI, p. ccix ff.

Porque non pueden estar
En un rigor toda vía
Los arcos para tirar,
Suélenlos desempulgar
Alguna pieza del día.
Pues razón fué de mezclar
Estas chufas de pastores
Para poder recrear,
Despertar y renovar
La gana de los lectores.

The shepherds see a figure flying toward them and Juan is thoroughly frightened:

Juan. ¡ Si, para Sant Julián!
 Y allega como la peña.
 Purraca el zurrón del pan,
 Acogerme he á Sant Milián,
 Que se me eriza la greña. . . .

Mingo. ¿ Tú eres hi de Pascual,
 El del huerte corazón?
 Torna, torna en ti, zagal:
 Sé que no nos hará mal
 Tan adornado garzón.
 Pónteme aquí á la pareja,
 Y venga lo que viniere;
 Que la mi perra Bermeja
 Le sobará la peleja
 A quien algo nos quisiere.

Juan. Y si nos habla bien luego
 Faremos presto del fuego
 Para guisalle un tasajo;
 Que no puedo imaginar,
 Hablando, Mingo, de veras,
 Que hombre sepa volar
 Si no es Johan escolar
 Que sabe de encantaderas. . . .

The angel then announces to them the birth of Christ and bids them seek the Child in the manger. After some hesitation, Mingo consents to obey and tells what they must take:

Mas lleva allá el caramiello,
 Los albogues y el rabé,
 Con que hagas al chiquiello
 Un huerte son agudiello,
 Que quizá yo bailaré.

Juan exclaims with delight on hearing the song of an angel:

¡ Oh, hi de Dios, qué gasajo
 Habrás, Mingo, si lo escuchas!
 Ni aun comer sopas en ajo,
 Ni borregos en tasajo,
 Ni sopar huerte las puchas.

The same simple rejoicing is shown in the account of another shepherd who relates what he had seen at the manger.

It is true that this eclogue was not represented, but we may look upon it as a faithful transcription of the performances which were given at that time either in the church or church-yard. We could hardly conceive of a serious writer inventing this scene in which the comic element plays so large a part. It is particularly interesting as the shepherds here represented have the same characteristics as those which appear in later plays. They speak their own crude language, they are filled with terror at the sight of the angel and star, they sing and dance as they go to the manger with their simple gifts, they tell of their love of food. It was used as an introduction to the Nativity scene, but already we find the shepherds occupying a disproportionate place, although the scene at the manger was not completely lost sight of.

The second *Égloga* of Juan del Encina was represented before the Duke of Alba on Christmas Eve of 1492.¹¹ This play does not show as many popular elements as the above mentioned, doubtless because rude comedy would have been out of place in a private representation.¹² Neither the angel nor manger appears. It is merely a dialogue between four shepherds, Mateo, Marco, Lucas and Juan.

¹¹ *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, ed. by Cañete, Madrid, 1893, p. 15 ff.

¹² Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, 1892, p. 78, says: "In Spain, through adverse circumstances, the development of the play was arrested, and when at last, in 1496, the early dramatic type for Spain was set by the *Representaciones* of Encina, its direct inspiration was the Latin pastoral rather than the liturgical drama." I have found no trace of influence of the Latin pastoral on the religious plays of Encina.

Lúcas announces to his companions the birth of Jesus and expounds with the assurance of a Church Father the doctrines of original sin and redemption. They leave to visit the manger, singing a *villancico* which is distinctly popular, in praise of the Christ Child. Although the shepherds talk their own rude language, they discourse like theologians and the comic element is totally absent.¹³ But it should not be concluded that the comedy element was necessarily a later development. The Christmas plays of Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente were presented before people of quality, kings or noblemen, in whose presence rough farce and horse play would have been out of place. Doubtless the plays which were written for public performances at this period contained more popular elements and less theology.

More realistic and popular is the so called *Égloga de las grandes lluvias*¹⁴ by Juan del Encina, performed on Christmas, 1498. It opens with a homely scene which later became conventional: four shepherds are seated about a fire and talk of the excessive rains which had caused destruction to man and beast.¹⁵ They begin to play *pares* and *nones*, but the game is interrupted by the angel's song, announcing the birth of Christ. When they hear the glad tidings, they act like simple hearted men whose intelligence is limited. Rodrigacho asks:

¿ Quién dijo qu'era nascido?

Juan. Cuido qu'el saludador.

Miguellej. Que no, sino el Salvador.

¿ No lo tienes entendido?

Juan. De atordido

No pude perentenderlo.

we have a certain crude attempt at realism which is far removed from the artificial pastorals like the *Representacion del Amor* of They take their simple gifts and leave to visit the manger.¹⁶ Here

¹³ The fact that the shepherd is not always represented as a comic figure shows that this character is not derived from the popular farces.

¹⁴ *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, p. 137 ff.

¹⁵ The theme of the discomforts of the shepherd's life and exposure to storms is found in the Chester Shepherds' play, II, 1-9 and Towneley III, 1 ff., and IV, 1-15, 123-128.

¹⁶ The presentation of gifts by the shepherds is borrowed from the Magi story.

the same author. It should be noted that the dialogue and games of the shepherds almost absorb the Nativity theme and that the scene at the manger was not represented. There is a certain element of comedy in the conversation of the shepherds, and Juan's mistake in confusing the words *saludador* and *salvador* is one of the first of the many examples of seeming irreverence on the part of the *pastores* for comic effect.¹⁷

The *Auto Pastoril Castellano*¹⁸ of Gil Vicente, represented in 1502 at the Christmas Matins, shows a fairly close relation with the liturgical drama. Four shepherds appear in the play and also the Evangelists Matthew and Luke. The opening scene presents a realistic picture of pastoral life. After playing some games, the shepherds fall asleep and are awakened by the song of the angel:

"Ha pastor!
Que es nacido el Redentor!"

Gil bids them rise, narrates how the angel had announced the birth of the Savior and tells them to take their gifts and worship Him. The scene changes to the manger. The other shepherds are overwhelmed by astonishment, but Gil bids them present their gifts and explains that Mary was the maiden whom Solomon had called his bride when he sang:

"Levántate, amiga mia,
Columba mea formosa, etc.

Silvestre exclaims on hearing those unfamiliar words:

A Dios plegue con el ruin!
Mudando vas la pelleja:
Sabes de achaque de ygreja!

Gil then adopts the rôle of preceptor and explains to his rude companions how the prophets had foretold the coming of Christ. The shepherds then depart, singing a song in praise of the Child.

In this play we have an interesting picture of the rude life of the shepherds which serves as an introduction to the Nativity scene. It contains a certain amount of rude humor and a general air of

¹⁷ In the Chester Shepherds' play, the shepherds give a comic explanation of the *Gloria in excelsis* of the angel.

¹⁸ *Obras de Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, 1852, vol. I, p. 7.

realism. The shepherd Gil, with his praise of the life of solitude and meditation undoubtedly shows the influence of the artificial pastorals. His function in the latter part of the play is to explain the doctrines of the Church to his more ignorant companions, a function which frequently appears in subsequent plays. The mention of the prophets is doubtless an echo of the sermon attributed to St. Augustine which was read at the Christmas service. The parody of Latin quotations is found in many of the religious plays of the sixteenth century.

Gil Vicente's *Auto dos Reis Magos*¹⁹ which was represented on Twelfth Night 1503, served as a prelude to the visit of the Wise Men. It contains a certain amount of realism and is chiefly interesting for the satire of the friars found in the early part. No shepherds appear in the other Spanish religious plays of Gil Vicente. Evidently at that period, shepherds were only introduced in scenes in which their presence was required by the Scriptural narrative.

The *Diálogo del Nacimiento*,²⁰ written by Torres Naharro some time after the year 1512, shows the complete divorce of the liturgical and religious drama. Two pilgrims, Patrispano and Betiseo, one coming from Jerusalem and the other from Santiago, meet and hold a tiresome conversation concerning the doctrine of the Nativity of Christ. Two shepherds, Herrando and Garrapata, who have overheard the discussion, ask certain questions, and give their own ingenious but often irreverent answers when dissatisfied with the replies of the pilgrims. It ends with a macaronic *villancico* in which the shepherds parody each line of Latin pronounced by the pilgrims. The *Diálogo* is not in any sense popular, but is interesting as showing how the rude comedy scenes of the shepherds' plays developed when completely separated from the liturgical drama. It should be noted that the prologue was pronounced by a shepherd. This became one of the important functions of the *Pastor* in later plays.

The *églogas* of Lúcas Fernández show little advance over the *representaciones* of Juan del Encina. The *Égloga ó farsa del Nas-*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁰ *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, ed. by Menéndez y Pelayo, Madrid, 1900, vol. II, p. 347 ff.

*cimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesu Cristo*²¹ serves as an introduction to the manger scene, although the latter is not represented. The play opens with a quarrel between two shepherds Bonifacio and Gil, which however has a certain clerical element. For example, when Gil wishes to take a nap, Bonifacio warns him of the misfortunes which befell Samson, Esau and others because of sleep. Their dispute is interrupted by the arrival of the hermit Macario who has lost his way. They make fun of him, and incidentally ridicule the religious Orders. He bids them not to jest for, according to the prophets, the incarnation is at hand, whereupon Bonifacio asks:²²

- ¿ Qué cosa es Encarnacion?
Macario. La Sancta Divinidad
 Tomar nuestra humanidad
 Para nuestra salvacion.
Gil. ¿ Dios y hombre se ha de hacer
 Todo yunto?
 No ay quien os pueda entender.
Macario. Dos naturas han de ser
 Puestas en punta de un punto.

Macario continues to explain how God had revealed his coming to Adam, Noah, Isaac, Abraham and David, and the shepherd Marcelo enters, shouting to the shepherds that an angel had proclaimed that Christ had been born of a Galilean maiden. Bonifacio asks:

¿ Y vírgen pudo parir?

Marcelo reaffirms this and in touching language expresses his joy at the birth of the Christ Child. The shepherds are still unconvinced but when they hear a new proclamation of the angels, they kneel and sing "*Et homo factus est.*" After many questions—questions which would naturally suggest themselves to untutored minds, though slightly irreverent—Macario and Marcelo explain to them the doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption. The shepherds then depart for the manger, telling of the gifts which they will present, and the play ends with a *villancico*.

²¹ *Farsas y Églogas fechas por Lúcas Fernández*, ed. by Cañete, Madrid, 1867, p. 139 ff.

²² P. 157.

This play aims rather to teach the doctrines of the Church than to make the auditors familiar with the incidents of the Nativity. The clerical element is more pronounced than in any of the plays hitherto examined. The rude questions of the shepherds give Marcelo and Macario an opportunity to expound theological dogmas, an element which we find still further developed in the plays of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. The stage direction that the song of the shepherds was accompanied by an organ seems to prove that the play was represented in the church itself or in the immediate vicinity.

In another play of Lucas Fernández, also entitled *Auto ó farsa del Nacimiento*,²³ we have a homely scene of every day life which introduces the Nativity. The shepherd Pascual enters, complaining of the cold and rain, and like a glutton, conjuring up this gastronomic feast:²⁴

Digo que de aquí adelante
Quiero andar más perpujante,
Comer, beber: de contino
Tasajo, soma y buen vino;
Comer buenos quesosones,
Comer buena miga cocha,
Remamar la cabra mocha
Y comer buenos lechones;
Y castrones y ansarones,
Y abortones corderitos,
Mielgos, chivos y cabritos,
Ajos puerros, cebollones,
Que á pastores son limones.

He lights a fire and calls his companion Lloreinte. They have just begun a game of "shinny" when Juan, another shepherd enters and tells them of the song of the angels. Pascual and Lloreinte are at first incredulous and make sport of their companion, but finally are convinced that the Nativity had caused the strange light which they had noticed in the heavens. Juan, and even Pascual and Lloreinte talk learnedly of the Redemption and the prophets who had foretold the coming of Christ, and they depart for the manger,

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 177 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

singing in praise of the Child. Like the preceding, this play contains a long exposition of the doctrines of the Church pronounced by one of the shepherds and the rude questions of the others aid in the explanations which were needed to instruct the spectators. The didactic element in these plays is very apparent, but the realistic scenes in the early part of each are of considerable interest. Pascual is a glutton, a characteristic which is found in nearly all of the later plays.

In the *Comedia á lo pastoril*,²⁵ preserved in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, No. 16058, the shepherds' play is joined to the *Procès de Dieu* theme. Although an attempt at realism was made in the presentation of the gifts to the Christ Child, there is no comic element. The play was probably composed in the first half of the sixteenth century.

It may be seen that in the earliest texts, the shepherds only appear in the Christmas plays where their presence was required by the Scriptural narrative, and that these pastoral scenes were developed so as to almost absorb in some cases the religious element. These crude representations of every day life and the rude humor and horseplay doubtless pleased the audience and gave a comic relief to performances which without them would have proved tiresome. In many cases, the comedy scenes were introduced in the early part of the play in order to interest the spectators before treating more serious themes. Also in many plays, a serious scene was immediately followed by a comic scene. As Petit de Julleville states the case for the French *mystères*:²⁶ "Le fond du drame était sérieux: mais dès que l'auteur croyait voir les fronts des spectateurs se plisser, leurs yeux se détourner à l'aventure, leurs bouches s'ouvrir pour bâiller, vite un bouffon sautait sur la scène et réveillait l'attention et la belle humeur. Souvent l'auteur dédaignait de composer ces épisodes burlesques: 'On placera ici quelque récit propre à récréer joyeusement l'esprit des auditeurs.' Nous lisons ces mots en marge d'une Nativité jouée à Rouen en 1474." In the prologue to the *Farsa de la Natividad* by Sánchez

²⁵ I have prepared an edition of this play which will appear shortly in the *Revue Hispanique*.

²⁶ *Les Mystères*, vol. I, p. 267.

de Badajoz,²⁷ the *Pastor* tells us clearly the function of the comic element in the play:

No vos cuento
El tenor del argumento;
Mas si teneis atencion
Si digo verdad ó miento,
Que habereis consolacion
En sentir
Lo que aquí se ha de decir.
Serán cosas
Devotas y provechosas,
Y porque no vos durmais,
Algunas cosas graciosas
Dirémos con que riais.

The comic scenes of the shepherds became so popular that we find them appearing in plays which had no connection with Christmas. The Old Testament plays on the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and David in which a pastoral setting was required by the Scriptural account formed the point of departure, and from these, the shepherds were introduced into any play for comic effect, regardless of the subject. In certain cases the attempt was made to connect non-Christmas plays with the Nativity plays by means of the *Pastor*. In the *Auto de la Circuncision de Nuestro Señor*,²⁸ when Joseph and Mary enter the temple, the *Pastor*, servant of the High Priest, says:

A señor dezirelo
o tengolo de callar?
qu'ese niño es el moçuelo
que los angeles del çielo
nos llamaron [a] adorar.

He tells how he had heard the song of the angels and had presented his gifts to Mary and the Child.

The *Pastor* forms the connecting link between the *Farsa de*

²⁷ *Recopilación en metro, Libros de antaño*, vol. XI, p. 141.

²⁸ Pub. by Rouanet, *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del siglo XVI*, vol. II, p. 363, ll. 221-225.

los Doctores by Sánchez de Badajoz²⁹ and the Christmas plays. Nicodemus says:

Yo tengo por cierta sciencia
Que es venido ya el Mesías,
Que todas las profecías
Lo muestran como en presencia. . .

and the *Pastor* exclaims:

Agora se le acordó
Acabo de año con daños.
Há mas de diez ó doce años
Que es púbrico que nació.
Mi primo Pascual bailó
La noche del nacimiento.

In the discussion with the Doctors, the *Pastor* approves everything said by the child Jesus and again refers to the night of his birth:

Más me acuerdo ha mi agüelo
Que acá noche norabuena
Oimos gran cantalena
De los ángeles del cielo,
Y allá humos yo y Pedruelo
Á ofrecer á la parida.
¡O qué dama tan garrida,
Y qué niño y qué consuelo!
Estaban en un portal,
¡O qué milagro tamaño!
Desnudito y tan extraño
El Corderito Pascual. . .

When Mary enters with Joseph, *Pastor* recognizes her:

¡O qué bien, qué bien, qué bien!
Juri al ciego y su poder
Que ésta es la misma mujer
Que parió el niño en Belen.

The attempt to connect this *farsa* with the Christmas plays is evident.

²⁹ *Recopilación en metro, Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, p. 57 ff.

I have examined in some detail the character of the *Pastor* in the earliest plays because they contain the germ of the later development of the figure. Even before 1525, the *Pastor* had assumed certain definite characteristics and had become more or less stereotyped. After that date, he appears in a great number of religious plays and I need only mention the characteristics which are constantly repeated. The popularity of the type may be appreciated from the fact that he plays a definitely comic rôle in more than thirty of the ninety-five religious plays published by M. Léo Rouanet. Four names were used to designate the same character, *Pastor*, *Villano*, *Bobo* and *Simple*, the first three occurring far more frequently than the last.³⁰ These names seem to have been used indiscriminately and in some plays we find the same character called by all three names. The name *Pastor* was almost always used in the Christmas plays, but in the other *autos*, no distinction was made between the *Pastor*, *Bobo*, *Villano* and *Simple*. I think it is beyond question that the *Pastor* of the Shepherds' plays was the progenitor of all these types. We have a parallel development in the religious plays of England, France and Italy, but in none of these countries, with the possible exception of France, did the shepherd have so great an influence on the development of comedy as in Spain. The author of the *Interlude of Mak* in the Towneley Shepherds' play produced a first class comedy with this material, but no one seems to have followed in his footsteps.

Many of the plays contain a prologue which was recited by the *Pastor*.³¹ These were usually comic in character, and ended with a brief statement of the argument and an appeal for silence. The epilogue was also frequently recited by the *Pastor*. It was also one of the functions of the *Pastor* and *Bobo* to furnish the songs and dances. These were usually given at the end of the play but occasionally the dances were performed during the course of the play. In the *Farsa Sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia*,³² *Bobo* tells

³⁰ A *bobó* is mentioned as one of the characters in the *Auto nuevo del santo nacimiento de Cristo nuestro Señor* by Juan Pastor, 1528. Moratin, *Orígenes*, no. 39.

³¹ The Prologue in the Spanish religious plays will be studied in a separate article.

³² Rouanet, *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios*, LXXXVI.

Vicio to play and that he will dance "*La Mala Ventura*."³³ In the *Farsa del Sacramento de los Quatro Evangelistas*,³⁴ after St. John gives a long explanation of the doctrine of the Sacrament, the shepherd Anton declares that he is fully satisfied and adds:

Y pues tal saber topamos
para poder preguntar,
mientras que mas preguntamos
tornen un poco a cantar,
y veran como bailamos.

After other questions, one of the Evangelists bids the shepherds kneel and worship God, and Gil adds:

Ellos, pues que son cantores,
canten al adoracion;
bailaremos yo y Anton,
y ellos lleven los tenores
con un lindo favordon.

In many cases the comic scenes did not form an integral part of the play and may be looked upon simply as *entremeses* or *pasos*. They usually followed a serious scene, and in general we may say that there was a regular succession of serious and comic scenes. In the *Auto del Destierro de Agar*,³⁵ the shepherd scene has no connection with the rest of the play. In the *Auto del Robo de Digna*,³⁶ the violent scene of the abduction of Digna is followed by a *paso* in which a *Bobo* and *Pastor* appear. The scene is in prose, which shows that it was considered to have little connection with the rest of the play which is written in verse. Lisanjo, the *Pastor*, enters with the bad news and the *Bobo* plies him with absurd questions.

Bobo. Pues, vellaco rrapaz, si mi padre no me engañara, por mi sabiença no me dezian que me avian de hazer maestro de guardar un palomar?

Lisanjo. Y tu padre te engaño?

Bobo. Si, que me engaño.

Lisanjo. Y en que te engaño? Veamos.

Bobo. Muriose.

³³ Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 45, gives a list of the dances which were used in the Corpus Christi representations at Seville

³⁴ Rouanet, *ibid.*, LXXXIX, ll. 229-33 and 346-51.

³⁵ Rouanet, *ibid.*, II.

³⁶ Rouanet, *ibid.*, VIII, p. 141.

A document published by Pérez Pastor seems to show that the *entremeses* were not considered a part of the play. "En 4 de Marzo de 1578 se concertó el Ayuntamiento con Alonso de Cisneros, que hará tres autos, los que esta villa señalar y escojiere de los que se le pidiere con dos entremeses en cada auto."⁸⁷ This is confirmed by a number of references in the plays of M. Rouanet's collection such as: "*Aquí a de aver un entremes.*" This was probably an improvised farce, performed by actors engaged for that purpose.

In nearly every play in which the *Pastor* or *Bobo* appears, he is represented as a glutton. He cares for nothing, sacred or profane, provided his stomach is well filled. The voracity of the *Bobo* furnishes the chief comic element of the *Auto del Sacrificio de Abraham*.⁸⁸ Abraham calls him, and bids him dress and come forth. The *Bobo* replies:

Que, señor! para mascar
ansi me puedo salir.

and comes out wrapped in a shawl. When Abraham remonstrates, the *Bobo* answers:

El no ve qu'es ya verano
y en faldetas me andare?

When Abraham orders his servant to invite guests to a dinner, the *Bobo* is afraid of being deprived of his food, and adds:

Di que vengan almorçados,
porque aca no hagan mengua
y nos dejen apiolados.

When Abraham blesses thus the food:

Aquel alto Poderosso
a todos juntos bendiga
y nos de gloria y rreposito. . .

the *Bobo* irreverently adds:

Y que harte mi barriga,
que, pardios, qu'estoy medroso,

⁸⁷ *Histrionismo español*, p. 11. There are many other references of the same kind.

⁸⁸ Rouanet, *ibid.*, I, p. 4 ff.

que segun es la juntada
la comida queda yerma,
y si para ti no ay nada,
o barriga triste enferma!
por mi mal fuiste enjendrada.

This parody of sacred things is very frequently found in the character of the *Pastor* and *Bobo*. In the *Auto de la Resurreccion de Christo*,³⁹ after the announcement of the resurrection of Christ, each of the characters prays to the Virgin, and the *Bobo* asks that he be allowed to offer his prayer:

Señora, yo vengo aqui
solamente a os suplicar
que, pues todo lo podeis,
que de deudas me libreis
y de obligacion con plazo,
y para agora, un hornaço
de dos mil huevos me deis:
que os doy fee de lo meter
sin dejar huevo ninguno.

The figure of *Bobo* in the *Auto de la Paciencia de Job*⁴⁰ is one of the best in Rouanet's collection. It will be noted that there is a regular succession of serious and comic scenes. Job prays to God to protect himself and his family, and the *Bobo* enters:

A! Job, a! nuesamo, que fiesta os perdeis
de tanta la sopa, de tantos manjares;
que apenas yo puedo mover los quijares
de lo que e comido! Que gansos vereis!
gallinas, perdizes, conejos a pares!

A drover then enters and tells Job that all his cattle had been lost and that he himself had barely escaped alive. *Bobo* asks:

Y, dime, por ver:
Matorente a ti?

Boyero. Vinieronme en pos,
que fue gran ventura poder guareçer.

³⁹ Rouanet, *ibid.*, LX.

⁴⁰ Rouanet, *ibid.*, XCVI

Bobo. Tambien te llorara; creerasmelo, amigo?

Boyero. Si.

Bobo. Dios te me deje ver como querria.

Boyero. Y como?

Bobo. Finado. Veras si te haria
sobre tu fuesa tal llanto, me obrigo,
que nunca zesara, la noche y el dia.

The *Moza* enters and tells Job that his house had been destroyed and that his children were dead. *Bobo* asks:

Y, dime, hundiose el gatto rrabon?

Moza. Todo, a la mi fee, quedo soterrado.

Bobo. O que gataço aquel tan honrrado!
De puro noble no asia rraton.

Then he asks about the "*arca del pan*."

Moza. Tambien es hundida.

Bobo. Hundida te veas toda esa cara,
vellaca, golosa, oçiquilamida!
— Nuestro amo, no entremos, no aya quedado
algun terronaço en qualque rrincon
que nos asiente en la cholla un chichon.

This parody of one of the principal characters by the *Pastor* or *Bobo* is frequently found. In the *Aucto del Robo de Digna*,⁴¹ Lisanjo tells Jacob of the rape of Digna and the father laments the violence done to his daughter. The *Bobo* asks:

Ola! Lisanjo. Sabe señor como el perro se comio toda
la coçiná?

Lisanjo. Si, que lo sabe.

Bobo. Y sabe como la dornajuela se quedo sin alima?

Lisanjo. Tambien lo sabe.

Bobo. Pues, porque no me lo dezias? Y ayudara yo a llorar mi
parte. Ay, ay, ay!

Jacob. O triste de mi! que hare?

O la mi honrra perdida!

Bobo. No llore vuesa merçe
que otra olla conprare
que tenga honrra conprida.

⁴¹ *Rouanet*, VIII.

In the *Farsa Teologal* by Sánchez de Badajoz,⁴² the *Pastor* continually parodies the Teólogo who tries to instruct him. When the former quotes Latin, the *Pastor* replies:

¿ Habeis visto el abadon?
 Juraré yo á San Herrando
 Que viene alguien conjurando,
 O pide por Sant Anton.

.
Teólogo. Clementer salvavit nos
 Per bonitatem divinam
 Instaurans nostram ruinam.

Pastor. Mucho más ruin sois vos.
 ¡ He! ¡ mira! ¿ creeis en Dios?
 Si quereis, hablá á la crala,
 O andá mucho noramala.

Teólogo. ¿ Quid vis?

Pastor. ¿ Vismas? para vos.

After a long explanation of the doctrine of the redemption, Teólogo asks the *Pastor* whether he thoroughly understands and the latter replies:⁴³

Muy bien para San Herrando.
 He estado bobo mirando
 Espantado y esmarrido.
 Paréceme que he comido
 Mil mollejas de ansarones,
 Cuando tan fuertes razones
 Nunca las había oído.

In the *Farsa de los Doctores*⁴⁴ by Sánchez de Badajoz, the *Pastor* impudently interrupts the Doctors, and when Samuel quotes Latin, the *Pastor* cries:

Habrais en algaravieja;
 Yo no entiendo aquesta lengua;
 Si mal me diz mal le venga
 Maldicion de puta vieja.

⁴² *Libros de antaño*, vol. XI, p. 93.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴⁴ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, p. 59.

He does not hesitate to qualify their statements as *locuras*, and pays no attention to their rebukes.

Very frequently the *Pastor* and *Bobo* take part in conversations in which they are not concerned and by their remarks raise a laugh at the expense of some other character. In the *Auto de los Desposorios de Joseph*, Bobo exclaims when Joseph refuses to kiss Senec:⁴⁵

Por san, qu'es desamorado,
salbo onor, señor Joseph.
Mira quien no consintie
un besso tan agraciado!
No lo hiziera yo, a fee.

Acabe, lleguese a ella,
digale algun rresquebrajo.

In many plays the stupidity of the *Pastor* and *Bobo* furnishes a comic element. In the *Auto del Finamiento de Jacob*,^{45a} for example, the *Bobo* is a dolt who is a butt for all jokes because of his limited understanding. The *Moza* asks:

La bestia, donde quedo?

Bobo. No traje bestia, si a mi;
No ay otro asno, son yo.
No so bien grande?

Moza. Si.
No es tan grande el burro nuevo.

In the *Auto de Naval, y de Abigail*,⁴⁶ attributed to Lope de Rueda, there is a good comedy scene in which the *Bobo* tries to pass himself off as an ass. The same scene is found in Lope de Rueda's *Coloquio de Timbria*.

In certain plays the stupidity of the *Pastor* or *Bobo* and his rude questions served an important purpose, that is, in requiring a clear explanation of the doctrines of the Church, framed in language which would be understood by the most ignorant auditors. In this

⁴⁵ Rouanet, *ibid.*, XX, l. 306 ff.

^{45a} Rouanet, XII.

⁴⁶ Rouanet, *ibid.*, LIX.

way, the doctrines of Incarnation, Redemption, Transubstantiation and the Immaculate Conception were brought within the comprehension of every one. The *Bobo* was, so to speak, the connecting link between the auditors and the sacred characters. He looked at everything from the same standpoint as the humblest peasant in the audience. In the *Farsa del Sacramento de los Quatro Evangelistas*,⁴⁷ the shepherd Anton Exido enters, dressed in his best clothes, to celebrate the Corpus Christi festival:

Yo, desde que so pastor,
tengo aquesta devoçion
que en la fiesta del Señor
vo hechando en la proçesion
rrosas y flores de olor.

Doubtless it did not appear incongruous to the audience that he should meet the Evangelists and discuss theology with them.

In nearly all of the plays, the shepherds show the utmost ignorance of sacred things. It is with surprise, therefore, that in the *Farsa del Sacramento*,⁴⁸ we find the shepherd Anton instructing St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Luke, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose in the mysteries of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. This function of the shepherd is quite exceptional, although we find traces of it in the plays of Gil Vicente and Lúcas Fernández.

In the vast majority of plays in which the *Pastor* or *Bobo* appears, his mistakes furnish the comic element. In other plays however, especially in those of Sánchez de Badajoz, he is an active agent in the fun making and makes sport of other characters. A good example of this is found in the *Farsa de Salomon*⁴⁹ of Sánchez de Badajoz. A *Fraile* tells the *Pastor* that every good Christian should beat himself in order to become pure. The *Pastor* acts at once upon the advice, undresses himself and gives himself a good thrashing. Then the *Fraile* tells him that he had been joking:⁵⁰

Su contricion es perfeta.
Ya que te dije burlando,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, LXXXIX.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, LXXXVII.

⁴⁹ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XI.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

No es noche de estar llorando;
Buena ha andado la bualeta;
Para juego de carreta
Fuera bueno el bobarron.

Pastor. Yo creí vuestro sermon,
¡ Y vos echaislo en chufreta!
¿ En fin, vos escarnecis? . . .
Ora bien, callá, callá.
Quizás acontecerá
Que yo ria y vos lloreis.

The *Pastor's* prophecy is fulfilled for he gives the *Fraile* a good flogging in payment for the trick that had been played on him.

The *Pastor* and *Bobo* frequently appear in comic scenes with the other stock comic characters of the early plays, such as the Moor, Negress, Biscayan and Portuguese. In the *Farsa Teologal*⁵¹ by Sánchez de Badajoz, the *Pastor* makes a vain attempt to teach a negress the Creed, and in the *Farsa de la Iglesia*⁵² by the same author, there is a good scene of horseplay in which the *Pastor* persuades a Moor to be baptized and he himself performs the ceremony.

The Devil and Vice often appeared as comic characters and are frequently associated with the *Bobo*. In the *Aucto de la Culpa y Captividad*,⁵³ a *Villano* (*Bobo*) and *Pastora* are captured by *Culpa* and *Captividad* and after some resistance, are dragged to a cave which represented Hell. The *Bobo* tries to warn two prophets not to approach:

Cata que os aviso a entramos
que no vengais,
que ay mas mal que no pensais,
que saldrán so aquella peña
un salvaje y una dueña
que os haran que no bolvais.

After the prophets are captured, *Bobo* peers out of the cave and tries to warn his father and mother of the danger:

No gastes tienpo con ella
que peor lo hara.

⁵¹ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XI, p. 127.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 193.

⁵³ Rouanet, XLV.

Guarda que os engañara
 qual otra negra presona,
 qu'es un diablo tesona.
 Aguarda, padre, aguarda,
 porque os engarrafara
 el salvajon.

They are all freed by Libertad and Bobo exclaims:

Qual salimos del carnero!
 Mira aca
 como venimos de alla,
 humedos y asotanados.
 Que os paresçe? Que barvados
 salimos! Padre, mira.

In the *Aucto de la Verdad y la Mentira*,⁵⁴ *Demonio* and the *Bobo* attack *Verdad*, and *Justicia* suddenly appears with a drawn sword. The *Bobo* cries out in terror

No, señora, no hera yo,
 quite alla su cuchillazo.
 Jesu, que luçio y largazo!
 Por la madre que la pario,
 No me de un gañavetazo!

In the *Farsa Sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia*,⁵⁵ there is a good comic scene between the *Bobo* and *Vicio*. When the latter enters, the *Bobo* makes fun of his long nose:

Ojo! no veis la nariz
 que trae el señor? Amigo,
 a ser troje, su cayz
 bien cabia en ella de trigo.

When *Confision* tells *Vicio* to confess his sins, the *Bobo* adds:

Si al cielo le an de llevar,
 dejese aca las narizes:
 no le estorven al entrar.

In the *Farsa de los Doctores*⁵⁶ by Sánchez de Badajoz, the Devil

⁵⁴ Rouanet, LV.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXXVI.

⁵⁶ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, p. 72.

enters, angered by the birth of Christ. The *Pastor* grasps him by the horns and forces him to acknowledge his defeat.

The *Bobo* is occasionally represented as a coward. In the *Farsa del Rey David*,⁸⁷ the *Pastor* is frightened at the appearance of Goliath:

- ¡ O grandes fatigas mías!
Veislo viene por detras,
Aquel fero Satanas
El gran gigante Golias.
- David.* No temas, hermano, así.
- Pastor.* O mala vision que veo.
- David.* Tente.
- Pastor.* No estoy más aquí,
Que me zurró, juri á mí.
- David.* No hayas miedo.

When Goliath asks for some one to come out to fight with him, the *Pastor* exclaims:

Encandeló al enemigo
Tal alma, cara y esfuerzo,
Que tembrando estoy conmigo.
Vámonos, David amigo,
Huyamos de tal escuerzo.

The character of shepherd became so popular that he was even introduced into the Morality plays with an allegorical name. In the *Auto de la Verdad y la Mentira*,⁸⁸ *Ynorancia* appears as a *Bobo*, and like nearly all the *Bobos*, he is a glutton.

- Bobo.* Veamos la faltriquera,
a ver si ay por ventura. . .
- Malicia.* Mal aya tal criatura,
si basta una casa entera
para ponelle en hartura!

In the *Auto de la Resurrecion de Christo*,⁸⁹ la *Ynocencia de Adam* plays the role of *Bobo*. He comes running out after Christ had released the damned souls and gives a comic account of the harrowing of Hell:

⁸⁷ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, pp. 165-166.

⁸⁸ Rouanet, LV.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, LXI.

Mas, como el señor entro,
 el demonio s'escondio
 debajo de unos toçones,
 y el quebronos las prisiomes,
 y ansi a todos nos solto.

Each character reads a gloss in honor of the Virgin and Marcos bids the *Bobo* read his:

Bobo. Venga la paga,
 Porque de balde no es cosa.

Marcos. Que quieres que se te de?

Bobo. De aquello de la lunada
 una lonja bien asada,
 y su vino; y glosare
 "La bella mal maridada."

Que, pardiez, ya el abadejo,
 tollo, mielga, ni pescado,
 no entraran, si es de mi grado,
 mas "por el postigo viejo
 que nunca fuera cerrado."

Ygual es buenos toçinos,
 buenas carnes, buenos vinos
 que nos rrieguen los gargueros,
 sin que lo sepa "Oliveros
 ni su primo Montesinos."⁶⁰

In the *Farsa Sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia*,⁶¹ *Descuydo* is represented as a *Bobo*. He is invited to the Fount of Grace and after inquiring whether it was one of the fountains well known in Madrid, he refuses to drink before breakfast:

Mire, si ubiera almorçado,
 no dejara de beber,
 mas no me e desayunado;
 como lo tengo de hazer?
 que morire rresfriado.

In the *Auto de la Fee*⁶² by Juan Timoneda, *Hombre* appears as

⁶⁰ The *Bobo* often shows a fondness for quoting snatches of the popular romances.

⁶¹ Rouanet, LXXXVI.

⁶² *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. LVIII, p. 89.

a *simple*. He is a glutton and blames the government for failing to supply him with food:

¡ Doy al huego el regimiento
Y el gobierno de la praza,
Que voy desde ayer hambriento
Y no hallo una hogaza
Para mi mantenimiento!
¡ Qué donoso proveer
De un ayuntamiento honrado,
Que anda el hombre avezado
Á cada paso comer,
Y no hallar pan un bocado!

The rôle of *simple* corresponds exactly to that played by the *bobo* in other Morality plays.

I have attempted to show that the chief comic figure of the Spanish religious drama of the sixteenth century is the logical outgrowth of the shepherds' plays which were performed in the churches on Christmas day. The Spanish people, obeying that love of realism which has always been a prominent feature of their popular literature, demanded scenes of every day life and a large element of humor to enliven the wearisome religious representations. In these scenes we occasionally find keen satire of the religious orders and many examples of seeming irreverence, but we must remember that a certain freedom was allowed in such matters at that period throughout Europe which is almost unintelligible to the Anglo-Saxon of to-day. While other writers were composing eclogues, pastoral plays and novels based upon an imitation of Latin and Italian works, these crude, realistic representations of the life of shepherds developed entirely independently. The popularity of these scenes was so great that they were transferred to plays which had no connection with Christmas and even to the morality plays. But the character of *Pastor* and *Bobo* could not fully develop in the narrow limits of the religious drama. It remained for Lope de Rueda and others to add new elements as it passed into the domain of the secular drama and thus prepare the way for the creation of the *gracioso* by Lope de Vega.

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GIAMBATTISTA VIDALI: A DOCUMENT FOR HIS BIOGRAPHY (1679).

THE dramatic splendor of the church of the Salute, rising from its picturesque position at the entrance to the Grand Canal, is such an ever-present witness to the reputation of Baldassare Longhena, that his glory will not suffer if one fails to point out all the references to him in the contemporary documents of Venice. We smile rather at the ambition of the humble poet Vidali, who, distrusting doubtless from his death-bed the power of his weak-winged sonnets in the Venetian dialect to carry him to immortality, seeks a sustaining association with the name of the famous architect. Something more than the genius of Longhena or the brush of the painter Zanchi was necessary to preserve the memory of Giambattista Vidali, who has remained, and will remain, unknown to all except the three or four curious antiquaries interested in the dust of the Venetian Seicento, and who therefore appreciate the occasional realistic figures of that century which Vidali recalls in his poetry.¹

The testament of the poet here published will offer to the few interested sufficient data for beginning the reconstruction of his life, of which we otherwise possess only the detail of his doctorate in laws. We learn the approximate date of his death; his residence in Ca'Moro in the parish of Sant'Antonin; the names and station of his most intimate friends; his relative wealth, and the manner of its investment; especially the religious temper of his last days. One feels almost that Vidali was even too much interested in the welfare of his own soul in the next world, and too little in the bodily comfort of his nearest relatives in this. But it becomes clear that his family relations were not of the pleasantest, owing to the activities of his scape-grace brother Vittorio Vidali, of whom we should like to know more, and who clearly belongs to a throng of spendthrift "buontemponi" described with such profusion of

¹ Cf. Antonio Pilot, *Venezia in alcuni sonetti di G. B. Vidali*, extract from *Fanfulla della domenica*, 1911, June.

detail in the realistic satire of the period.² What we know of Venetian customs leads us also to infer that the poet was either the eldest or the second eldest son in his family. At any rate the death of Giovanni Antonio must have ensued soon after that of the father, Michiel, leaving Giambattista at the head of the house, and passing the right of matrimony to the second surviving son Vittorio. The character of this youth was such as to blast every hope the poet may have had for the future greatness of his family. Here we have the explanation of the absence of the note of family ambition, so characteristic of Venetian testaments in general and especially in this period. This consideration prevents the hasty classification of Vidali among the odious "chietini", whose passion for the mortmain of their property was justly hated by Venetian patriots. The Fraterna further was a public charity rather than a strictly ecclesiastical institution. However Vidali's devotion to the church of Sant' Antonin gives his testament an importance in the history of that edifice, which has again fallen into complete neglect, and within a year has been definitively closed to the public. It becomes clear that the rebuilding of that church in 1680, as recorded by Tassini, was due partly to the wealth of a Venetian poet; just as the literary fame of the same church is due to another Venetian poet, Buratti, whose *Elefanteide* takes for its subject an episode which occurred there in 1819.³

The legacy of the poet did not long remain in public trust. His younger brother did finally come to a realization of his responsibilities and within a year after the composition of this testament, married Anzola Moisis, who brought him in 1681 a daughter named Maria Michiela. According to the provisions of this will, the girl in 1697 laid claim to the ancestral estate, which enabled her to offer

² The will speaks of this brother first as Lodovico, then as "Vetor": that we are not dealing with two different brothers is proven by the phrase *detto Vetor, mio fratello*. According to the Venetian custom of continuing Christian names from generation to generation, we should expect *Lodovico*, given in memory of the uncle Lodovico Vidali. Yet the uncle has been so often mentioned previously, that this name may be an intrusion here, while such an error for Vetor would be more difficult. There remains the possibility of the brother being named Lodovico Vittorio Vidali.

³ The episode is narrated at length by V. Malamani in *Il principe dei satirici veneziani, Pietro Buratti*, Venezia Tip. dell' Ancora, 1887, pp. 112-133. I possess a copy of *L'elefanticidio in Venezia*, of P. Bonmartini, Venezia, 1819.

a splendid dowry to a grandson of the Venetian poet Busenello. This explains the presence of the document here published in the hitherto uncatalogued papers marked *Testamenti* (no. 73) in the *Archivio Busenello*, recently acquired by Cavaliere Bailo of the Musico Civico of Treviso.

In fact, I publish this sample document of the riches of that *Archivio*, less as a contribution to the life of Giambattista Vidali than as an occasion for calling attention to the discovery of these papers, and for making an appeal for their rigorous preservation. Between the years 1588, the date of the acquisition of the Palazzo Busenello in the parish of Santa Croce, and 1797, the date of the fall of the Republic, we have the creation of a great citizen family, which in that period produced two scholars of renown, one interesting poet, fifty diplomats and two Grand Chancellors. The same period witnessed the amassing of a great family fortune, which even in its present dilapidated and scattered condition preserves the traces of its ancient princely magnificence. The managers of the Busenello estate were careful business men, and their papers were systematically filed and in 1756 and years following were laboriously and accurately catalogued. The result was a ponderous family *archivio*, known to Mazzuchelli as containing precious literary documents, and to students of art, as possessing a collection of paintings and antiquities, remarkable as a private museum. This museum was located in the Villa Busenello (now Pagani) in the little village of Legnaro near Padova. The dispersion of the collection began in 1849 on the death of the last Count Pietro Busenello; and more rapidly continued after the death of Count Giuseppe Pagani, in 1900. In 1907-8, efforts to locate these papers were ineffectual. They had actually passed in 1908 from Legnaro to the shop of the antiquary Domenichi in the Via Canonica in Venice. Thence a portion, containing many literary documents, went into the careful hands of Aldo Ravà, who must be counted as the discoverer of these archives, and as the first to appreciate their importance. The remainder went to the Museo Civico of Treviso: a bundle or two that had escaped the original sale, have been found by chance in an inn at Legnaro. We may rest assured that the most obviously precious papers of this collection will be preserved at Treviso, in the

new Museum, which when completed and restored according to the proposed plans, will be an enduring monument to the life-long industry and the discriminating erudition of Cavaliere Bailo. My appeal is here for the maintenance of the *Archivio*, completely intact and as a special department of that museum,—for the preservation in short of those papers that may seem to be of little or no importance. The receipt of a butcher's or a baker's bill is of little interest in itself, but it may serve in the reconstruction of the economic status of a family before the French Revolution. No one probably cares about the cost of the pills sold by Simon Boselli; nevertheless that item, contained in these archives, elucidates a reference to the Apothecary of the Abran in a satire of Zorzi Contarini; and another colorless receipt for thirty ducats paid to a Venetian Monastery, furnishes the first clue to the identity of the Venetian poet Sebastiano Rossi. I respectfully suggest that the importance of a given document cannot be judged off-hand, and express the hope that the exportation of these papers to other libraries will not be carried very far, and especially that none of the smallest documents, not recorded in the indices of 1756, will be destroyed or otherwise disposed of, without a record being taken with the same fullness of detail that appears in those indices.

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1679, 17 DICEMBRE: TESTAMENTO DEL SIGNOR GIO: BATTISTA VIDALI.

In dei æterni nomine amen: anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo nono, indictione tertia, die vero dominica decima septima mensis decembris Rivoalti.

L'eccellentissimo signor Gio: Battista Vidali, dottor, del *quondam* signor Michiel, sano, mercè al Signor Iddio di mente et intelletto, ha fatto chiamar me Martin Corte, nodaro veneto, nella casa di sua habitatione in contrà di Sant'Antonin, essendo a letto indisposto; ha presentato a me, nodaro sudetto, la presente sua cedula testamentaria in presenza degl'infrascritti testimonij, disse scritto e sottoscritto di propria sua mano, pregandomi custodirla, presentarla nella Cancellaria Inferiore, et venendo il caso della sua morte, compirla, pubblicarla et robborarla giusto alle leggi di questa città. Interrogato d'altra simile, delli quatro hospitali della città, poveri vergognosi, convertite, rescato de schiavi

et altre opere pie et particolarmente l'hospital della Pietà, rispose: "Non occorre altro."

Intus vero tenor dicte cedule testamentarie talis est, et sequitur de verbo ad verbum ut infra, videlicet:

Deo Omnipotenti faces, honor et gloria, amen. Adì 9 luglio 1679. In Venetia. Circondato io, Gio: Battista Vidali, del *quondam* signor Michiel, da vari et ostinati mali, che quasi incessanti proteste di morte minacciano giornalmente la natura a soccombere e restituire la parte frale del corpo alla terra, che è il suo basso principio, e la immortale dell'anima alla Sublime Sua Causa ch'è Dio, voglio così con atto libero sottopormi a questa necessità, e col testar liberamente delle cose mie, più tosto uscire del mondo che d'esserne quasi violentemente scacciato.

Il testamento non è altro che una volontaria rinontia agli averi terreni et alle pompe et vanità del secolo, la quale se nel sacro battesimo habbiamo fatta senza volontà nell'infanzia, quanto più dobbiamo farla con matura deliberatione nell'età avanzata, batezando così l'arbitrio nell'ingresso all'eternità, e spogliandosi di qualunque cosa di mondo, per immergersi ignudi in quell'acque christalline e beate che corrono sopra i cielli, dove si batezziamo nell'possesso della patria glorificante, la nudità che fu compagne dell'innocenza dell'uomo ultimo, cioè nel termine della sua vita, liberamente toltoci d'intorno tutto l'impaccio gravoso delle cose terrene, le passioni verso le quali *sogliamo* tante volte caricarci di reità e renderci dispiacevoli agl'occhi paterni di Dio stesso.

Mi getto dunque a' piedi dell'Ineffabile Altissima et Incomprensibile Santissima Trinità, Padre, Figliolo e Spirito Santo, et imploro dalla suprema regola della vera libertà un atto di volere aggiustato et subordinato al Suo Divino Beneplacito, con cui possa ordinare giustamente li ditami del mio arbitrio in maniera che dalla volontà sua non devij punto la mia, la quale riuscirebbe più tosto licenza che libertà quando si dipartisse dalla norma dell'Altissimo Primo Autore della Volontà.

E perchè la deppendenza totale del Signor Dio è un anello di carità che ci collega con l'altro anello dell'affettuosa e cristiana unione col prossimo, però in primo luogo do e chiedo perdono a chiunque havessi data o ricevuta offesa alcuna, e con nodo indissolubile lego il mio affetto a tutti i fedeli e prossimi diletteissimi con quali prego la Divina Bontà d'eternar questo mio vincolo nella Patria Celeste, con la fornitione beatissima dell'immensità adorata.

Separato che sia lo spirito da questo corpo, voglio che il mio cadavere sia vestito dell'habito di San Francesco di Paula, mio grand'intercessore et avvocato, e poi nella forma più semplice, portato nella chiesa

di contrada. Ordino che il primo giorno mi siano in essa fatte celebrare messe da morto nel maggior numero che sia possibile in quella mattina. Poi voglio che si continuino quindici alla mattina sino all'ottavo giorno del mio transito, volendo che le messe della prima mattina si chiudano con una messa grande da morto, e così pure dell'ultima mattina; e sebbene la nostra sepoltura di casa si trova nella Isola della Madonna delle Gratie, desidero niente di meno e voglio esser sepolto nella chiesa parrocchiale di Sant'Antonio Martire e Sacerdote, entro gli scallini della capella et altare di San Liborio Vescovo, dove sarà già preparato il luoco, et l'altare sia fabricato a spese mie conforme al convenuto e mezzo del Signor Piovano col Signor Baldissera Longhena, e voglio che sopra la pietra che cuoprirà il mio cadavere e sarà pavimento a' piedi de' sacerdoti vi siano scolpite in caratteri grandi queste parole: *SURGAM ET VIDEBO*. Et obbligo la mia heredità a mandar due torzi ogni anno il giorno della commemoratione dei morti, perchè siano fatte le mie esequie e de' nostri morti con dar alla sagrestia annualmente hellemosina di dodici messe dalli Molto Reverendi Padri Capuccini. Ordino che mi vengano dete messe trecento; parimente altrettanto dalli Molto Reverendi Padri Reformati di San Bonaventura e così da' Molto Reverendi Padri Teatini numero doicento, e da' Padri Carmelitani Scalzi numero doicento e da' Padri di San Francesco di Paula numero cento all'altare del medemo santo; et di più a questi padri devoti, ducati vinticinque senza obbligo di messe per pura ellemosina. E perchè nella chiesa di Sant' Antonio, mia contrada, io vivendo ho fatte celebrare le messe per l'anima del *quondam* Signor Gio: Antonio, mio fratello, in essecutione del suo testamento e corrispondente ogni sei mesi l'elemosina del mansionario et è necessario lasciar ordine per la continuatione, onde la sua volontà sia perpetuamente eseguita, dichiaro che nell'Officio Eccellentissimo del Sale vi sono in partita di capitale a mio credito ducati millecinquecento compresi in maggior summa, il pro de' quali deve esser in perpetuo applicato all'officiatura di tante messe nella predetta chiesa, giusta il suo testamento negl'atti di D. Nicolao Veneto, nodaro veneto. Perciò voglio che li detti ducati millecinquecento siano girati a credito della sudetta chiesa di Sant'Antonio per manssionaria perpetua del signor sudetto, signor Gio: Antonio Vidali, *quondam* Michiel, per esser corrisposto il pro liberamente al manssionario che sarà eletto dal Signor Piovano, che sarà *pro tempore*, obbligando il medemo alla cura di far pontualmente officiare la detta manssionaria al numero delle messe a proportionione del detto pro, et in caso di franchatione debba investirsi detto capitale, perchè la rendita di detto capitale sia sempre impiegato all'effetto delle dette messe. Nel che, in-

carico nella forma che più strettamente posso la coscienza de' Molto Reverendi Piovani.

Voglio che delli denari che si trovano di mia ragione nell'Offitio Eccellentissimo del Sale siano girati ducati doi mille cinque cento a credito della chiesa sudetta di Sant' Antonio sudetto per la mansionaria quotidiana perpetua per l'anima mia da esser offitiata nell'altare et cappella di San Liborio Vescovo giornalmente, dovendosi applicare il pro delli sudetti ducati doi mille cinquecento a questo effetto col corrispondere liberamente al manssionario che sarà eletto da' Molto Reverendi Piovani che saranno *pro tempore*, alla coscienza de' quali raccomandando la pontualità dell'essecutione, lasciando a loro arbitrio potere delli stessi pro et officatura constituir un patrimonio ad alcuno de' chierici di chiesa, et a sustentimento de chiesa; et in caso di francatione, debbano rinvestirsi li ducati doi mille cinquecento, perchè con li pro sia sempre essequita la mia sudetta volontà. Il che sarà incombenza de' Molto Reverendi Piovani, i quali se mancassero in ciò o nella predetta officatura, venga in quel caso reclamato acconti gli Eccellentissimi sopra Monasteri, dalla cui autorità e giustitia sia applicato il dovuto rimedio in ordine all'adempimento di quanto ordino.

E perchè, come ho detto sopra, l'altare di San Liborio sarà fabricato a mie spese, s'io promissi alla detta fabrica a perfetione totale di detto altare, ordino che si vegga quanto haverò sin all'hora esborsato al Signor Batta [Baldassare] Longhena, giusta lo accordato, e supplire poi con l'esborso del rimanente, alla totale sodisfatione dell'opera compita. Fornito che sia il medesimo, voglio che sia fatta fare la palla dell'altare per mano del signor pittor Zanchi, la quale contenirà l'immagine del vescovo santo nel mezo, e dalla parte destra l'immagine di San Lodovico, Re di Francia, e dalla sinistra quella di San Gio: Battista. Dalla parte destra della capella ordino che sia posto un cartellone di pietra di parangone col suo friso intorno di marmo fino, fatto a fogliami, dove si venga scolpita in lettere d'oro la memoria del Signor Lodovico Vidali, *quondam* Gio: Antonio, zio, che sarà nelle seguenti parole: D. O. M. LODOVICUS VIDALI JO: ANTONII FILLIUS, UNIUS ECCLESIE PRAD: EIUSQUE EDIFICATIONIS LEGATORIA BUTELLA PROMOTOR, VIR INTEGERRIMUS, PRUDENTIA PROBITATE CLARUS TOTIUS FERE URBIS JUDEX COMPROMISSARIUS, EX EQUO ET BONO UTRIQUE PACTI ACCEPTUS, CUI PRO MORTE ETAS FINIT NONAGE-NONIUS (sic) ETERNITATEM INGRESSUS. JO: BAPTISTA NEPOS ET BREVES MONUMENTUM PONI IURAVIT.

Dalla parte sinistra in un eguale cartellone sarà scolpita la memoria

mia, con quelle parole che paressero senza affettazione proprie, da esser composte dall'Eccellentissimo Medico Mesetti, alla cui bontà e valore mi rimetto. Ogn'altro ornamento per la medesima capella et altare voglio che sia fatto fare a mie spese, sì che tanto l'una quanto l'altro ricevano quello splendore che si ricerca per la sua compita perfetione et eleganza.

Alle Molto Reverende Madri Suor Dorotea et Arcangella, monache in San Servolo, mie sorelle, lascio ducati quattro mille di quelli mi attrovo nell'Offitio Eccellentissimo del Sal, hereditati da me dal *quondam* Signor Lodovico, mio zio, in vita loro durante, perchè godano esse il pro delli medesimi la metà per una, e morendo l'una, acresca tutto l'intiero nell'altra, e doppo la morte di tutte e due, vadano nel monastero del loro ordine sino all'estintione totale del monastero, doppo la quale veramente voglio che vada detto capitale di ducati quatomille nel mio residuo.

Al Signor Giorggio Gobati lascio ducati mille durante sua vita, et nella sua morte possa disporre delli cinquecento, et gli altri cinquecento vadano nel mio residuo, quali saranno di quelli stessi nell'Offitio del Sale hereditati come sopra.

Item, lascio a Betta, mia serva, ducati dol mille durante sua vita, ducati mille al Partitante de Sale di Verona et ducati mille all'Offitio Eccellentissimo del Sal, ereditati come sopra; dopo la sua morte anderanno nel mio residuo; di più ducati doicento di contanti, e che si taglia della mia biancaria tutto quello le pare e piace, et proibisco che sia guardato nelle sue casse, ma voglio che tutto quello che dirà sia suo e da me datole, che le sia creduto.

Alla Signora Elena, mia sorella, lascio la mia letiera, trabacca, stramazzi, coperte di letto, scagni, careghe di Bulgaro, casse di noghera, numero quattro, gli utensili di cucina, la metà a lei e l'altra mettà voglio che sia di Betta mia serva sudetta.

All'Eccellentissimo Signor Emanuel Meseri, medico, mio amorevolissimo congiunto, lascio un paro di sotto coppe d'argento, quelle più grandi che io adopero, et il mio anello di diamante che voglio portar in detto, et un paro di saliere d'argento a sua elletione.

Al Signor Abbate Francesco dall'Oglio, per testimonianza d'affetto, un bacille d'argento col suo ramino d'argento a sua elletione.

Item, al servitore e massera che saranno al tempo di mia morte, ducati dieci per uno, non comprendendo Betta in questo legato, havendola beneficata.

Al Signor Vettor Meseri, padre dell'Eccellentissimo Dottor Emanuel,

tutti li miei drappi e vestiti, la mia romana, capelli, scarponi, calzoni, calze.

Li miei tappedi, grandi e picioi, caienini, ordinarij, in somma tutti, voglio che siano della chiesa di Sant'Antonino per la solennità di detta chiesa; così le spalliere pure della medesima chiesa, et voglio che ogni anno nel giorno di San Liborio Vescovo il Molto Reverendo Signor Piovàn di San Martino si compiaccia esser presente personalmente alla messa grande del Santo in memoria che San Martino fu presente alla sepoltura del Santo, et a questo effetto ordino che annualmente gli sia dato un ducato.

Ordino di più che sia esequito l'ordine del testamento del detto Signor Lodovico, mio zio, in materia delle candelle il venerdì grasso nell'espositione de Santissimo in chiesa de San Martino, e così parimente il legato che lasciò al tempo del maritar o monacar d'alcune putte sorelle d'uno chierico di San Giovanni in Bragora, sia esequito.

Alli signori Can^{co}. et Domenico Fallier, miei ss^{ti}. et amici amorevolissimi, una busta con dodici pironi d'argento, cuchieri e coltelli con manichi d'argento, che goderanno per segno d'affetto.

Fideicommissario et herede universale istituisco il Pio Luoco della Fraterna, alla pietà et carità del quale io commetto e raccomando l'essecutione della presente mia ultima volontà in tutte le sue parti, sì come devo sperare, e con questa sicurezza acqueto il mio animo. Ma perchè corre voce del matrimonio del Signor Lodovico [Vetor?], mio fratello, et io non ho dubbio che non segua, però in caso di suo matrimonio, se haverà figliuoli tanto maschi quanto femine, voglio che siano essi heredi universali di tutto il mo presente e futuro che *quovismodo* potesse aspettarmi: ma sino che detti suoi figliuoli non havessero sedeci anni, voglio che il Pio Luoco della Fraterna usi delle rendite mie a benefittio de' poveri conforme l'instituto di detto luogo, doppo il qual tempo vengano essi a possesso in maniera però che se mancassero avanti il compimento degl'anni sedici o doppo s'estinguessero in se stessi o nelle loro successioni, in quel caso voglio che siano fatte de tutto il mio tre parti, et che una terza parte sia del Luogo Pio della Fraterna de' Vergognosi sudetti e ceda a pro e benefittio de' poveri; l'altra terza partè de' figliuoli del Signor Michiel Zucareda, mio nipote, e l'altra terza parte de' figliuoli del Signor Antonio Zatta mio nipote, figliuoli tanto dell'uno quanto dell'altro che siano di legittimo matrimonio e non altrimenti: et anco questi con la conditione che ogni volta che manchino in se stessi o nelle loro successioni leggitime s'intenda sempre chiamato sostituito il sudetto Pio Luoco, volendo che il medesimo habbia da subentrare assolutamente nell'heredità mia, mancando le sucessioni

de' predetti, non vi essendo consanguinità più congiunta di quella de' poveri vergognosi, contratta della natura humana del primo huomo che è statto povero ignudo e vergognoso.

Prego et incarico bene la pietà del detto Pio Luoco a voler sovvenire la persona del detto Vetur [Lodovico?] Vidalli, mio fratello, con tutto quanto gli basti sufficientemente ad alimentarsi e vestire; ma per gli esempi pur troppo notti, vendendo egli sopra la sua vita ciò che gli vien lasciato et in pochi giorni dispende ogni cosa, sì come ha fatto sempre in sua vita, ordino che il detto Luogo Pio li vada somministrando o di giorno in giorno o di settimana in settimana quanto possa giornalmente bisognarli, et quando non se ne vaglia per suo sostenimento, possa sminuirglielo, alterarlo et anco totalmente levarglielo, e tutto questo per oviare che non venda e dissipi senza suo pro quello che ha da servire per suo puro sostenimento, incaricando la vigilanza e dilligenza caritativa del sudetto Luogo.

Alla fabrica di Sant'Antonino tanto necessitata di mia contrada, lascio ducati mille di quelli m'attrovo a livello nell'Eccellentissima Procuratia *de supra*, de' quali si può subito intimar l'affrancatione per valersene quanto prima al predetto effetto della sudetta fabrica.

Lascio che degli argenti miei che restassero oltre i disposti di sopra siano fatti quattro candellieri d'argento ed una lampada per l'altare di San Liborio Vescovo, ecceto che voglio che il cacin o boccal d'argento da lavarsi lo lascio insieme con suo piè lavorato e tazze d'argento per sapone alla signora Marcolina Zuccareda, moglie del Signor Michiel Zuccareda mio nipote, per segno e testimonianza d'affetto.

Al Signor Dottor Pollieri, prete di San Pantaleone, lascio tutti benchè pochi miei libri: al Signor Dottor Andrea Moroni tre quadri di casa a sua elletione. Li ritratti di mio avo e di mio padre, che siano posti nel Luogo Pio della Fraterna. Il credito che ho con Gio: Battista Dali di ducati sei mille quando si scada scuotendo, lo lascio liberamente e senza nessuna conditione al sudetto Pio Luoco della Fraterna, e raccomandandomi alla protetione di Sua Divina Maestà della Beatissima Vergine, San Michel Arcangelo, San Francesco di Paula et di tutti i Santi miei protetori nell'ultimo mio transito, sottometto la mia volontà e la subordino al Divino Beneplacito, con l'esempio tanto da imitarsi di Nostro Signor Gesù Christo. *Non mea, non mea, sed fiat voluntas tua. Amen.* Et perciò ho scritto et sottoscritto di propria mano questo mio testamento, onde resti inviolabilmente esequito. *Preterea si quis per signum autem, etc.* Io Gio: Battista Vidalli, *quondam* Michiel, affermo et confermo quanto di sopra.

Here follows the deposition of the witnesses, Gerolamo Nulzi di Pietro Antonio, Challe Giordani di Jocando Giordani; and then the codicil:

[Voglio] di più che la casa di Ca' Moro, nella quale habbito, che le cinque parti sono di mia ragione, venendo il caso che fosse recuperata dall'Illustrissimo Moro, saranno di mia ragione le cinque parti del capitale che tiene a galder detto Illustrissimo Moro e doveranno esser le cinque parti dette di ragione del mio residuo conforme nella mia ordinatione predetta.

E volendo Betta, mia serva, fermarsi sei mesi doppo in casa, non possi esser scaciata, ma farina, oglio, vin e legne, che si ritroveranno alla mia morte, servano a suo uso e benefitio.

Interrogato da me, nodaro, delli quatro hospedalli della città, convertite, vergognosi, rescato de' schiavi et specialmente l'Hospedal della Pietà rispose: lasso alle convertite ducati vinti per una volta tanto.

TUDOR LITERATURE AND MR. LEE

ALTHOUGH with all critics in all ages the personal equation must be considered, yet surely never as at present has it bulked so large. When paradoxes are at a premium, the writer with a "thesis" naturally wishes to sustain his position. But even then he should be fair, presenting all facts both for and against. Now, however, the methods of the advocate have superseded those of the judge. For there is this essential difference. The literary advocate before the great but ignorant jury of the public is bent solely upon proving his point, and, providing that he procures conviction, he considers any method legitimate. The plausible half-truth, the careful suppression of unfavorable evidence, the cunning stress upon prepared points, these are all artifices in Old Bailey. But when applied to literature they breed both an unwilling admiration for the cleverness of the critic and a hearty distrust of the soundness of his conclusions.

Thus it is with mixed feelings that the reader closes "The French Renaissance in England" by Mr. Sidney Lee. Honored by the universities of Oxford and Glasgow and Fellow of the British Academy, Mr. Lee must speak with authority. Also he is one of the most widely known of English scholars. As the second Editor-in-Chief of the "Dictionary of National Biography" he has given us a work that, however irritating through occasional inaccuracy, is yet exceedingly convenient; his "Introduction" to the "Elizabethan Sonnets" is the best single discussion of that difficult subject, and he writes the analogous chapter in the "Cambridge History of English Literature"; and his "Life of Shakespeare" is still standard. Moreover as the present work is based on six lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, it comes to us with academic prestige. Thus as being one of the leading exponents of the value of the comparative study of European literature, we rightly expect him to show both profound knowledge and mature judgment and, like another Oxford scholar, to aspire to the "high, white star of Truth."

Unhappily Mr. Lee is hampered in his investigation by a thesis. This he states definitely: "Yet I prepared to defend the position that French culture has a bearing on the development of Tudor culture, which neither the classics nor Italian art and literature nor German art and literature can on a broad survey be said to equal" (p. 12). But the "broad survey" must embrace a large number of little details and its value will depend proportionately upon their accuracy. Yet to defend his position he makes a number of statements so extraordinary that, as ignorance is out of the question with such a scholar, they must be credited to the thesis. They are comically easy to disprove. Let me illustrate as courteously as possible by citing three typical cases. He tells us that "Ronsard was at one time the English sovereign's guest" (p. 39), the sovereign being Elizabeth. Ronsard accompanied Madeleine de France when in January 1537 she married James Stuart of Scotland. He spent two years there and six months in England. Apparently, although in 1540 he was again in Scotland, this was his last visit to England. Elizabeth was born in September 1533, so that at the time of Ronsard's visit she was of the ripe age of six. Nor do we know that he ever saw her except in a vision. In fact, since in his poem in 1567, "A Très-Haute et Très-Illustre et Très Vertueuse Princesse Elisabeth Royne d'Angleterre," he knows her but by report,

"Car, quand j'oy dire à ceux qui vous cognoissent
Que les beautez diverses apparissent
Sur vous . . ."

the probability is against it. Presumably Mr. Lee in his eagerness allowed himself to overstate. But as in history, so in linguistics he yields to the same temptation. "But despite his insular professions, Skelton's work pays ample tribute to French culture. . . . One of his best known poems, an allegorical description of the vices of courtiers, called *The bowge of Court*, employs oddly but characteristically, an anglicized form of the French word *bouche* (mouth) in the sense of 'rations'" (p. 102-3). On the other hand *bouge*, or *bowge*, appears fifty years before in the Ord. R. Househ., Liber Niger Edw. IV, 19, according to the "New English Dictionary," published in 1888. A contemporary use of the word is given in the line from "Cocke Lorelles Bote,"

"Tankarde berers bouge men and spere planers."

Consequently Skelton's odd but characteristic use of it was the normal use for that particular service and shows exactly as much French influence on him as an individual as the word *chauffeur* or *garage* today does in the mouth of a newspaper reporter. The third illustration should not be historical, nor linguistic; therefore let it be critical. "... it was while he was talking in French with a Portuguese sailor who had voyaged to America, that More's alert imagination conceived his new ideal of society" (p. 72). In the first place I fail to see how French influence is shown by the language used in an imaginary conversation. Even with that subtilty granted, we are no better off, because, as More intimates, the conversation was in Latin.

"... & mea oratio quanto accederet propius ad illius neglectam simplicitatem, tanto futura sit propior veritati, cui hac in re soli curam & debeo & habeo." Preface to Peter Giles.

To correct such slips as these and others like them requires no masterly knowledge. Mr. Lee tells us: "In spite of my efforts to test my facts and dates, I cannot hope to have escaped error in handling a theme which demands an acquaintance with very varied topics in the literary history of two great peoples and a grasp of an infinitude of historical and biographical detail." Yet the greatness of the task and the grossness of the blunders are not correlative, when the most casual testing of facts and dates would correct the errors. And it is significant that the errors all tend to establish his thesis.

This significance appears still more strikingly in the biased manner with which he treats the question of humanism. "The chief fact in the history of humanism in the early part of the century is that France became the European centre of scholarship" (p. 69). It is to be regretted that the extremely popular form of his lectures does not permit Mr. Lee to give the reasoning on which he bases so striking a generalization. He differs here from the usual critical comment in this day and in that. Erasmus's own opinion of Paris, "that Gallic dung-hill," and his longing for Italy are too well-known to need comment. But when, speaking of Colet,

Linacre, and More, he tells us that "France however chiefly gave their aspirations coherent shape and substance" (p. 68), he raises a suggestive question affecting the whole conception of humanistic ideals. To what extent would a Frenchman, modelling upon Latin writers and writing in Latin to a European public, transmit pure French influence? Or, how far did humanism tend towards denationalization? It would be possible, I think, and instructive, I know, for careful analysis to show the Italianism in the "Ambra," the Teutonism in the "Epistolae," the Anglicism in the "Utopia" and the Dutch quality in the "Colloquies," but it has never been done. The remarkable feature, on the other hand, is their uniform freedom from the limitations of space and time. Written to appeal to an audience of all Europe and formed upon models which are to a large extent our models, they seem universal. That this is true of the "Utopia" is beyond question; perhaps in less degree of the "Colloquies"; and even the "Epistolae" may be read with admiration for their cleverness. But since none of these books was written by a Frenchman, wherein lies the French influence? In reply Mr. Lee is forced to Gallicize the cosmopolitan Erasmus. Then More becomes a "disciple" of the pseudo-Frenchman. It is only necessary to state that in the correspondence between More and Erasmus such a relation is not even suggested. There is but one more step needed to bring us to the *reductio ad absurdum*. This he takes by telling us that, at a time when Latin was the universal language of scholarship, among other factors a French translation "efficiently relieved More's *Utopia* of the risk of oblivion to which English blindness exposed it" (p. 73). I do not know the conditions in Oxford, but here at least many of us had never heard of the French translation and some of us are so out-dated that we still prefer the Latin. Surely this is very special pleading of a very poor case.

In opening the case anew, it must be stated that this article will be limited to a discussion of the conditions, in the first half of the sixteenth century. It would be impossible with the space at command to consider the entire century, and in a period of rapid expansion truths of the times of Elizabeth become false when referred to the early years of Henry. Moreover, owing to the "retarda-

tion," as Mr. Lee felicitously expresses it, of the mid-century, it is possible without loss to consider each half separately. First then, although Mr. Lee does not recognize the distinction, direct French influence must be sharply differentiated from the indirect, namely the Chaucerian influence. Chaucer was greatly influenced by the contemporary French literature. This he assimilated and passed on to the succeeding writers, together with the practice of borrowing contemporary French works. Consequently all through the first three quarters of the fifteenth century one finds English poems modelled upon Chaucer, and French translations such as Sir Richard Ros' version of "*La Belle Dame Sans Merci*," existing side by side. But it is to be remarked that the poems chosen for translation were of the same general type as Chaucer's own. Thus an English literary tradition arose based originally upon the French and occasionally added to from the French, but all under the aegis of Chaucer. So Lydgate admits his mastership, and Hawes that of Lydgate:

"O mayster Lydgate, the most dulcet sprynge
Of famous rethoryke, wyth balade ryall,
The chefe orygynal of my lernyng."

Pastime of Pleasure, XIV.

These poems are characterized by the use of the dream structure, allegory, personifications, and the rhyme royal, although every poem may not have all four features. Thus the "*Court of Love*," the "*Pastime of Pleasure*" and the "*Bowge of Court*" are following a type which, although it may at one time have been a French peculiarity, had yet been domesticated in England for a hundred years. Consequently in connection with Barclay's translation of Gringoire's "*Château de Labour*," to say that "*The French muse of Gringoire smoothed the path of allegory in Tudor England*" (p. 100) is to put the cart before the horse. Presumably it was translated because it was of the popular type. In the same way it is not surprising to find Hawes acknowledging his general indebtedness to Chaucer, to Gower, and especially to Lydgate, without a word or hint of any French author, because to the sixteenth century mind, it was the English tradition he was following. In the early years of the sixteenth century this type of poetry, originally French, had

become English. But when we try to trace the direct influence of French literature upon English, we find it much more difficult to define. A priori reasoning would posit it. Mr. Lee takes sixty-one interesting pages to show us that in grammars, in embassies, and in trade there was intercourse between the two countries. But this is what one would expect; all this time the English owned Calais! On the assumption that England was at this time peculiarly susceptible to foreign influence, historically and geographically France would be the favored nation. But to define the extent to which this influence exists in literature, that is another matter. In the first place we are hampered by our lack of data. We masque our ignorance by inference and our generalizations too often have but a slight foundation in fact. Our existing literature is but a remnant of what must have originally been produced, and the discovery of another "Tottel's Miscellany," might reverse all our theories. Yet there are sporadic translations of both prose, like the "Huon of Burdeaux," and verse, like "The debate and stryfe between Somer and wynter, Imprinted by me laurens andrew, 1530," which are conclusive so far as they themselves are concerned. Also in the "Royal MSS." are two songs composed in French by William Cornyshe, and two by Henry himself. Therefore it seems safe to conclude that, when the King was writing French, the courtiers were reading it. Thus there are occasional French lines inserted into English poems.

"She sayd, 'Si douce est la Margarete'"

"Flower and the Leaf."

"My fearful trust, 'En vogant la Galere'"

Wyatt: "The Lover Prayeth Venus."

Then also occasional French rhetorical terms, "*le recule*," "*le plaintiff*," or French names, "*La Bel Pucel*," appear. Thus while none of these show much French influence, they do show a familiarity at least with the language.

A rough method of determining how far this familiarity with the language passed over into literature may be found in estimating the proportion of entire French works translated during this period. And this, after all, is but a matter of publishers' lists. The "Catalogue of the Caxton Celebration" in 1877 and a review of the

books published before 1550 taken from the "Catalogue of the Books in the British Museum published before 1660," published in 1884, will give us the data. Although neither of the lists is exhaustive, yet since there is no reason to assume any hostility to works of French origin, they will serve as a rough basis for estimating the percentage. From the first of these it is apparent that of the five books printed by Caxton at Bruges two are in French and the other three are taken from the French. On the other hand, of the books published by him in England, the proportion of books drawn avowedly from French sources shrinks to one quarter. Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde have even less. This still large percentage is not surprising in the light of the disorganization of England due to the feudal wars and the predisposition toward French influence due to the foreign training of Henry Richmond and his courtiers. When, however, we examine the publications during the reign of Henry VIII, this percentage dwindles to the vanishing point. Here naturally the greatest number of publications, over two hundred, deal with religion or the religio-social condition arising from the question of the divorce. The next group, over a hundred and fifty items, show humanistic influence. Then comes a miscellaneous lot on medicine, husbandry, etc.; then a smaller group more purely literary; and lastly eleven works either in French, dealing with France, or translations of medieval French romances. Thus broadly in general French influence does not appear as a dominant factor.

Perhaps the simplest way of discussing this is to divide the books into the two classes of prose and poetry. The prose, since the works are more apt to show their origin in their titles, is given by the preceding figures. And although even so well-known a writer as Lord Berners is omitted, there is no reason to assume that they are not roughly accurate. On the other hand if translations of Calvin or works influenced by him were included under French influence, the number in the first class, religion, would be greatly diminished, and the number in the last be proportionally increased. With Calvin, however, it is not a question of nationality. And again it is noteworthy that of the French romances, none in these lists was published before 1550. Consequently to say (p. 66) that "transla-

tion of more conventional specimens of French medieval literature constitutes the chief exploits in the English prose of Rabelais' era" (1495-1553), is absurdly out of proportion so far as mere quantity is concerned. But in quality it is none the less so, since Cranmer's melody and Latimer's vigor surely take precedence. Nor is the reason far to seek. Like the English, the French prose, until clarified by Calvin, is not a great literary medium. Compared with the incisive thinking of Machiavelli or the charm of Caro or the phrase of Bembo or the sting of Aretino, Froissart or Le Maire are immature, however much we may delight in their naïveté. Therefore it was not in the French but first in the Latin and later in the Italian that models were sought.

In regard to poetry, the same reasoning does not hold. Poetry not only develops before prose but by its very nature lends itself more easily to foreign impressions. Yet the generalization that "it was to Gringoire and to his masters, 'Les Rhétoriciens,' that the early stream of Tudor poetry was largely tributary" (p. 98) is surprising. By English as well as by many French readers the poets, Cretin, Meschinot, *et al.*, have been forgotten, together with the kind of poetry that they wrote. The school owes its name to a curious and highly artificial kind of mental play. Fabri (?), 1527, in his "Rhetorique" gives horrifying examples of "Rythme enchainée.—Rithme de basse enchainure.—Anadiplosis ou gradation.—Epanalepsis.—" etc. As a type of "la plus noble et excellente rithme" he cites:

"Contre le froit, la gelee et la ryme
Rythme ne sert, non faict texte ne comme.
Comme l'on voit, le froit croist ore a prime;
A prime sault le soleil de son somme,
Somme," etc.

Here each line begins with a pun on the last word of the preceding line. To say that this abomination was never used by any English poet is too broad. Yet that many used it, owing to the very fact of its artificial difficulty is *a priori* improbable. The simplest way to reach the solution is, even at the risk of a catalogue, to examine the works of the six principal English poets of the epoch. They are without question Barclay, Hawes, Heywood, Skelton, Wyatt, and Surrey.

In the case of Barclay, owing to Jamieson's justly celebrated edition of the "Ship of Fools" and to the publications of the Percy Society, his major works are accessible. That he knew French is shown by the "Introductory to Write and Pronounce French," 1521, but Mr. Lee's comment, "The Englishman seems doubtful of his competence to practise original composition in his native language, and seeks to compensate his defect by a close study of a foreign tongue" (p. 78), is curious, as by that time he had translated from Gringoire the "Castell of Laboure" and adapted from Brandt the "Ship of Fools." Mr. Lee's summary of the first from which I judge, stamps it as a descendant of the "Romaunt of the Rose" and justifies Ward's comment: "A moral allegory, which, though of no novel kind, was speedily reprinted by a second publisher." (D. N. B.) Therefore to say of this example of an expiring type that "The credit of first introducing Tudor readers to French poetry of their own period belongs to Alexander Barclay" (p. 99) is misleading, because Barclay had done nothing but follow the fashion of the century past. Still more misleading is his treatment of the "Ship of Fools": "Even more acceptable proved Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, which came from the German of the master satirist of the era, Sebastian Brandt. A French rendering of the *Ship of Fools* was printed as early as 1497. French example governed here and elsewhere Barclay's choice of material" (p. 99). This comes perilously close to a conscious suppression of evidence. Not a word of the Latin version which Ward states to have been the medium:

"A Low-German translation was published as early as 1497, and in the same year Jacob Locher produced his celebrated Latin version, the 'Stultifera Navis.' On this Barclay's translation was founded. He professes, indeed, to have 'ouersene the fyrst inuention in Doche, and after that the two translations in Latin and French.' . . . But at the conclusion of the argument (Jamieson, i. 18) Barclay directly refers to certain verses by Locher as those of his 'Actour,' or original and the order of the sections, as well as the additions made to the original German text, generally correspond to those in Locher's Latin version of 1497." (D. N. B.)

Here the case rests, since without a careful collation of the three

texts nothing can be determined. But in the first chapter of each, as given in the Jamieson, I can find nothing to justify Mr. Lee. The French is in octosyllabic couplets and Barclay uses the rhyme royal. Moreover, as the major part of his work is taken from the Latin, it seems probable that this poem was translated from that language. Mr. Lee also thinks that the poem on the death of Lord Howard inserted in the Fourth Eclogue is "planned on the model of Le Maire's *Temple*" (p. 100). Again I respectfully differ. The "*Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*" is a long work in both prose and verse, on the death of Pierre II, Duc de Bourbon. The likeness consists in that in each case is there an edifice erected to the memory of the deceased. Barclay's is a comparatively short poem in the "Monk's Tale" stanza, describing a tower guarded by allegorical figures of Labour and Vertue and inhabited by Henry VIII and others. The part of Le Maire's work which deals with the temple is in prose, and in it are six figures bearing letters forming the anagram of Pierre, each of whom recites a poem. The sole similarity that I find is that one of Barclay's lines ends in the phrase "vertue and honour," a locution not so unusual as to justify remark. So thus far the French influence in Barclay is nearly at the vanishing point. But Mr. Lee failed to remark that, as Ward suggests, the "Enuoy of Barclay to the Folys" (Jamieson, i. 268) is curiously suggestive of being a translation from an unknown French ballad with the refrain

"Ilz sont tous mortz ce monde est choce wayne."

The tone of the poem reminds one of Villon or Gringoire, but I cannot find it. In any case it shows French influence.

The second on the list, Stephen Hawes, is principally known by the poem sardonically called the "Pastime of Pleasure," reprinted by the Percy Society. Mr. Lee recalls Warton's theory, due to the French word "pastime" in the title and to the French names of some of the characters, that it is a translation of an unknown French original. But that original has never been found. Nor did Hawes himself conceive it as a French poem:

"And all in English with long circumstance
She shewed us all the whole condition . . ." p. 187.

Moreover, his use of French naming merely follows that of Lydgate, whom he continually avows to be his master.

"Of my maister Lidgate to folowe the trace . . ." p. 220.

Naturally under these circumstances the poem is written in the rhyme royal. This normal Chaucerian condition leads Mr. Lee to infer that "Hawes marches in Gringoire's regiment. . . . It is easy to perceive how busily French allegorical ingenuity was fertilizing the English soil whence Spenser's *Faerie Queene* was in due time to spring" (p. 108). And it is all very exasperating!

With Heywood, his dramatic importance as a predecessor of Shakespeare has popularly minimized the importance of his poems. In the interludes Dr. Karl Young has shown a striking similarity, so close that it almost precludes coincidence, with certain of the "sotties." Moreover the form and substance of the "Dialogue of Wit and Folly" is common in French poems, although Professor Hanford has just shown that it is also common to all mediaeval literature. But Heywood's use of the heroic couplet and the large amount of alliteration suggest that if he were affected here by French models, he at least assimilated them completely. In the other long works, the "Proverbs," the "Epigrams," and the "Spider and the Flye" (all three of which Mr. Lee entirely ignores), there is no suggestion of a foreign source. The "Proverbs" recall the "Proverbs of Hendyng," the "Epigrams" faintly follow classical models, and the "Spider and the Flye" is an involved political allegory wherein some of the analytic speeches foreshadow Milton and Dryden. So in Heywood, as in Hawes, French influence is more adumbrated than defined.

The French influence in Skelton Mr. Lee finds on three counts, two of which appear to me to be invalid. The first, the so-called French form of the "Bowge of Court," is again Chaucerian. The second, the resemblance of "Speke, Parrot" to "L'Amant Verd" of Le Maire consists solely in the fact that in each case the poem is spoken by a parrot. Otherwise the two poems differ utterly. "L'Amant Verd" consists of two verse-letters in flattery of Marguerite of Austria, with no attempt to imitate the speech of a parrot; Skelton's poem is a virulent satire against Wolsey, the imitation of the disconnected nature of a parrot's discourse render-

ing the poem at times unintelligible. Mr. Lee's comment here is interesting as an illustration of his psychology.

"It is clear whence came the suggestion. Skelton's voluble bird is no less polyglot than the pet of the Burgundian duchess in Le Maire's narration. 'Dowse (i. e. douce) French of Paris Parrot can cerne (i. e. discern, understand)' is one of Skelton's Anglo-French testimonies to his parrot's accomplishments, and many a descriptive note appended by Skelton to his poem is in ill-printed French. The English parrot has a far more strident note than the French bird, but the kinship is not in doubt" (p. 103).

Two of these three statements are wrong in fact and the third gives a false inference. In the French poem, although in the parrot's epitaph it is stated that he knew many languages, he does not show himself polyglot; the notes are not in ill-printed French but in Latin; and as the parrot speaks not only French but Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, Greek, Dutch, Spanish and English, and throughout the poem interjects Latin, Greek, Spanish and French, the implication given by quoting the French alone is misleading. Nor is the device of utilizing a parrot so striking as first appears. In Aesop or "Reynard the Fox" birds and beasts talk. In Thomas Feylde's "Controuersy bytwene a loue and a Jaye," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, the jay expostulates. And in the classic authors the *psittacus* is not uncommon. Thus while undoubtedly Skelton's device may have originated with Le Maire, it is equally possible that each author independently put two and two together.

In regard to the third point, the origin of the Skeltonian metre, Mr. Lee's derivation of it from the French is valuable. Almost the same form may be found, not in one but in many of the contemporary French poets. Against it, however, may be urged that in the little poem "En Parlament a Paris," although written in French, Skelton does not use the Skeltonian metre. Skipper tends to derive it from an expansion of the vielay, and Saintsbury, after showing that internal rhyme tended to break up the line into "line-kins," summarizes:

"Upon these facts Skelton fastened, and, either by deliberate experiment or in sheer process of practice, hit upon a vehicle generally homogeneous in plan but susceptible of considerable minor variations." Hist. of English Prosody, Bk. III, C. II.

Certainly it is plausible that Skelton's undoubted knowledge of French suggested what that vehicle might be. Here again, then, is a possible French influence.

French influence in the poems of Wyatt and of Surrey may be sought in either content or in form. In regard to the first, the question is easily answered since no one has ever found any direct French original. Since Nott in 1815, apparently deducing from the name, queried that the poem

"A Robyn,
Jolly Robyn . . ."

might be a translation, editors have carefully chronicled it as a fact, notwithstanding that that very phrase is used by Chaucer. Wyatt does however use the rhetoric terms, "Le Plaintiff," etc. But the stock example has been the sonnet

"Like to these unmesurable montayns."

In 1904 Mr. Lee remarked: "He rendered with verbal accuracy a popular sonnet of Melin de St. Gelais." But fifteen years before Mr. Waddington had suggested that it came from Sannazaro, and since then Mr. Arthur Tilley, Professor Kastner and myself each rediscovered the Italian original independently. Consequently now Mr. Lee states confidently: "But it is unquestionable that both Wyatt and the French poet had here independent recourse to an original Italian sonnet by Jacopo Sannazaro" (p. 121). Mr. Lee's "unquestionable," the modern substitute for his too famous "doubtless," I question. If my theory ("Professor Kastner's Hypothesis," *Modern Language Notes*, 1909) be true, not only did Wyatt not imitate from the French, but St. Gelais copied this sonnet from him. Thus the last concrete example fails. This condition is the more striking by comparison with the Italian, where we are dealing, not with possible similarities, but with definite borrowings from definite poems. Feeling this, Mr. Lee interjects pages dealing biographically and critically with Marot and Alamanni. Unhappily neither of the poets took the content from Marot, and Alamanni is not French but Italian,—an Italian who it is true paid sporadic visits to the French court, but whose presence there is indicative of Italian influence. The same line of reasoning would enrich French art with

Leonardo and Benvenuto. Moreover, if it be essential to hypothecate a meeting between Wyatt and Alamanni, the poets might equally well have met in Florence in 1527 when Wyatt was in Italy and before Alamanni's second exile. By that time, according to Hauvette, Alamanni had written his satires. In this way we disinfect even the slightest traces of French atmosphere. Nor need we wonder where Wyatt found the terza rima, as Wyatt in Italy must have seen hundreds of capitoli. Consequently in the Wyatt and the Surrey, there is no French content.

In discussing the forms, it is to be remembered that poets in all three languages were experimenting in short stanzas, strambotti, huitains, dizains, estrennes, epigrams, etc. Mr. Lee shows that in some of Wyatt's experiments he employs the same rhyme scheme found in some of Marot's. That he knew French authors is proved by the first lines of nine poems written in his own hand in the Egerton MSS. Of the two identified, the first is an extravagant compliment by St. Gelais to François I and the second is Marot's epigram on "Frère Thibaud." But this merely complicates the case as that particular epigram is one of the most disgusting of Marot's poems, and the verse form of it is nowhere imitated by Wyatt. Yet it is quite possible that he may have known others and copied their verse forms.

Thus the question really turns upon the introduction of the sonnet, the rondeau, and blank verse. The first is undoubtedly Italian, since both Wyatt and Surrey copy known Italian sonnets. The second is almost certainly French. Here, however, we lack definiteness. The term "rondeau" was applied very generally to any short poem with a refrain, but towards the close of the fifteenth century it began to crystalize into the present form, aabba aabR aabbaR, which Fabri (?) terms "rondeau d'amours." But it was by no means an invention of Clément Marot, as Mr. Lee seems to think on the authority of Boileau. (Boileau's opinion of early French poetry is paralleled by Pope's critical dicta upon the Elizabethans!) Actually that form, used by Le Maire and others, was the favorite of Jean Marot. Even the first published rondeau of Clément is of that type, although his constant use afterwards tended to establish it. Thus if Wyatt's rondeaux were regular, it would not limit

him by any means to Clément Marot. But unhappily only three of the nine conform to the rondeaux d'amours. Three omit the separate refrain, embodying it in an *a* line; two reverse the order to read aabba bbaR bbabR; and one introduces a third rhyme. Although these variants may perhaps be found, yet they are not listed by either Raynaud (*Rondeaux et Autres Poésies du XVe Siècle*) nor by Chatelain (*Recherches sur le Vers Français au XVe Siècle*). And it is worth stating that in two of them an Italian content is put into the French form. Thus while the theory that Wyatt received the rondeau from Marot is very doubtful, that he received it from France is probable in the highest degree.

Blank verse, the last form to be considered, would not need to be mentioned, except for the fact that Mr. Lee insists upon considering Alamanni a Frenchman. Its origin lies in the imitation of the classics, or the Italians, or both. The Italians did experiment in the "versi sciolti," Wyatt (not Surrey) shows a knowledge of Alamanni's work, and Surrey (not Wyatt) was present at the meeting of François with Henry, 1532, a ceremony which Alamanni also attended. But the degree of familiarity between the young English noble, aged sixteen or seventeen, and an exiled Florentine citizen, aged thirty-seven, is a matter of pure conjecture. Nor aside from Surrey's employment of blank verse in his translation of two books of the "Aeneid" is there elsewhere in his works any trace of Alamanni. On the other hand Saintsbury has called attention to the fact that a passage in Chaucer, by accident or design, is in blank verse, and that that metre is the "riding rhyme" without the rhymes. Moreover this was preached by the humanists as a doctrine. Although Ascham is writing without knowledge of Surrey's translation, it is noteworthy that he advocates Surrey's procedure:

"surelie to follow rather the Gothes in ryming, than the Greekes in trew versifying, were even to eate acornes with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread among men . . . And although Carmen Exametrum does rather trotte and hoble, than run smoothly, in our English tonge; yet I am sure our English tonge will receive Carmen Iambicum as naturllie as either Greeke or Latin." "The Schole-master."

This position is confirmed by Grimold's blank verse translation in

the Tottel, which was published one month before the Surrey. As the datation of either poem is inferential, the assumption that Grimold is imitating Surrey needs proof. If not, then the origin of blank verse is probably humanistic. And in either case there is no French influence.

If the reasoning thus far has been sound, it follows that French influence on early Tudor literature, while undoubtedly existent, is yet distinctly minor. The question then arises why, when the nations were so closely related, did not the Early Tudors borrow more extensively from France. The answer is, I think, that the two nations were too closely related; they were *fratres inimici*. France had been the successful battle ground of English troops for a hundred years, the English still possessed French territory, and the English sovereign claimed the title of King of France. Under these political circumstances French feeling, as manifested in poem after poem, is one of intense bitterness.

"Meschans Angloys, remplis d'orgueil."

That the English reciprocated is shown by Mr. Lee's own citations. Therefore a French work, unless the subject matter were of the most general kind or the form particularly appropriate to an English theme, would be handicapped by the very fact that it was French. Moreover both the French and the English were in the same general stage of development. Therefore both literatures turned normally to Italy for their inspiration, which, owing to the very brilliance of Clément Marot, affected England first. So Mr. Lee's entertaining paradox falls to the ground. But the harm done by such a *jeu d'esprit* is incalculable. To follow him in his airy flights from mountain top to mountain top requires a knowledge of pedestrian detail possessed only by specialists and distasteful to the general reader, attracted by the glittering plausibility. This phantom of French influence has haunted us now for many years. For the future let us either produce tangible results or recognize that

"We grasp a shape and hold a shade."

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PETRARCH'S CONFESSIONAL PSALMS¹

IN describing the copies of the earliest collective edition (Basle, 1496) of Petrarch's Works in the Willard Fiske Petrarch Collection at Cornell University, Mr. Fiske (*Petrarch Books*, Ithaca, 1882, p. 19) says: 'One of the two perfect copies is unusually tall, having broad margins, and with some illuminated initials; it is in the original stamped vellum and oak binding. At the beginning are two leaves of rubricated MS. (not later than the very earliest years of the 16th century) with the title at the head: FRANCISCI POETE LAUREATI ET ORATORIS CLARRISSIMI PSALMI CONFESSIONALES.' The 'two leaves,' at present the only flyleaves at the front of the volume, are the third and fourth of four leaves made of paper unlike that in the body of the volume, of which the first is pasted to the inside of the cover, and the second is represented by a strip about an inch wide, next to the binding. On the outer margin of this strip are marks resembling quotes, which probably pertained to some writing on the missing part of the second leaf. The four leaves were evidently put in by the binder and afterward the *Psalms* written upon the third and fourth of them. Six leaves of the same paper are similarly placed at the back of the book. These also are covered with manuscript, but neither this nor the marginalia which occur at various places in the volume seem to be in the same hand as the *Psalms*.

In 1908 the RR. Marco Vattasso published a text of these *Psalms* together with a short history of their various editions (*I Codici Petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome). To the editions mentioned by him may be added one in which the *Confessional Psalms* appeared together with Petrarch's *Penitential Psalms*, published in 1497,² and a similar work, in which they were accompanied by a French paraphrase, as follows: *Les quinze degrez de Penitence*

¹ This study was prepared for the Petrarch Seminary of Professor Arthur Livingston. Since the literary and biographical side of the *Psalms* requires more thorough treatment than was possible at the time of the presentation of the study in the Seminary, the work done on it is, for the present, withheld.

² Des Champs et Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 2, 219.

representez par les quinze Psaumes de F. Petrarque. Paraphrasez en Francois, par F. N. Poteau, Rel. de S. Dominique. Dedié à la Roynie Mere du Roy. A. Lyon, chez Jaques Faure à la place de Confort, 1616, avec privelege du Roy. This work is in the Willard Fiske collection at Cornell.

The RR. Vattasso's text is based on the collation of a manuscript in the Vatican Library, and the earliest printed edition of the *Confessional Psalms* accessible to him, that published in 1491 as a supplement in an edition of an *Exposition of the Psalter* by Ludolf of Saxony. Since the copy at Cornell is nearly as early in date as the Vatican manuscript, is probably the only other manuscript of these *Confessional Psalms*, and differs considerably from the text printed by the RR. Vattasso, and from the texts in three editions of the *Psalter* of Ludolf (those of the years 1506, 1518, and 1542) in the Fiske collection, it is worthy of consideration.

Certain of its peculiarities call for particular comment: In the first *Psalms*, line 6, the MS. reads *nescies*, and the other copies *nescius*. The latter reading is the more to be expected, but the former is perhaps more vivid because it emphasizes the futurity of the judgment and the certainty of God's knowledge. In line 15, *confitebor*, the reading of the MS., is perhaps to be preferred to *confitear*, because it gives a corroborative idea, while the causal idea associated with the latter has already been expressed. At the beginning of *Superbia*, the MS. reads *superbire me non fecisti*, and the other versions, *superbum me fecisti*. The former is more in harmony with the spirit of the *Psalms*, but does not fit in well with the following co-ordinate clause, which one expects to be adversative. In *Superbia*, line 14, *omni* seems grammatically preferable to *omnes*, the reading of the MS. In *Superbia*, line 16, the reading of the MS., *Tu*, is decidedly superior to the *Vir* of the other copies. In *Superbia*, line 17, *negatus* is more forcible than the *iurgatus* of the variants. In *Avaricia*, line 2, the change from the *Ubi* of the MS. to *Ubi* makes a statement of a question. In *Avaricia*, line 2, the *largitatem* of the MS. seems to be caused by the influence of the same word just above, and is probably less authentic than the *legalitatem* of the variants. In *Avaricia*, line 9, the *simoniam* of the MS. seems inferior to the *sermonem* of the variants. In *Avaricia*,

line 14, the *innocentem* of the variants is closer to the Vulgate than the *innocentum* of the MS., for the former occurs many times in this connection and the latter but once. In *Luxuria*, line 6, the variants seem to improve the sense by allowing the translation: *I railed against the chaste woman who repulsed me, and falsely declared that she was unchaste*. In *Luxuria*, lines 6 and 12, the word *umbilicum* is interesting because it preserves a rare use of the word in this sense. In *Luxuria*, line 14, the word *dorca* seems to be used in a way not given in the lexicons. In *Ira* line 16, the word *redargutiones* is unusual in this sense. In the last *Psalm*, line 28, the *rectam* of the MS. seems to make better sense than the *testem* of the variants.

In the transcription, abbreviations have been expanded, words crossed out have been omitted, and interlinear words have been inserted, all as indicated in the manuscript. V indicates variants to be found in the RR. Vattasso's text; S¹, S² and S³ those in the texts of the *Confessional Psalms* in the editions of Ludolf of Saxony's *Exposition of the Psalter* of the years 1506, 1518, and 1542 respectively. Where the three give the same reading, the variant is indicated by S. The text of the edition of 1616 is not represented in the variants. It is substantially that of S with some variations of which the most striking are: *Introduction*, line 22, *coeno* for *ceno*; last *Psalm*, line 3, *nomen* for *regnum*; *Accidia*, line 29, *movi* for *novi*; line 36, *continent* for *continentur*.

FRANCISCI POETE LAUREATI ET ORATORIS CLARISSIMI PSALMI
CONFESSIONALES

Dies effluunt et labuntur anni: sed infelix ego nihil cogito de peccatis meis. Quid faciam domine: aut quo ibo: cum venerit ultimum tempus meum. Clamabis me ad iudicium: et exquires a me de talento mihi tradito rationem. Heu mihi quid respondebo tibi. Confusus territus ac tremens dicam. Nil domine superlucratus sum consumpsi etiam nequiter talentum tuum. Quasi nescies dissimulabis me: cum interrogabis fortunas meas et seriem vite mee. Domine tu scis omnia delicta mea: et sculpta stilo ferreo in fronte gero. Miserere domine servo tuo: et non intres mecum in iudicium: quia succumbo. Nec respicias ad multitudinem peccatorum: sed respice ad magnitudinem miserationis tue domine deus meus ut non perdas animam meam redemptor meus: quoniam tu eam sanguine redemisti. Vivens vivens domine confitebor tibi: aperiā et videbo omnia peccata mea. Ut humiliatum et contritum in me spiritum cognoscas: ut succurras et extendas dextera[m] pereunti,

Etenim confitebor tibi domine: misereri scis et parcere soles penitentibus et contritis. Sed heu quid reminiscar peccata mea dum nova committo et veterum obliviscor. Utinam memorem millesimum delictorum aut de mille milibus unum scelus. Ut vel sic conterar vel doleam: et tu miseraris misero et contrito. In iniquitatibus conceptus sum: et in iniquitatibus editus et nutritus. Infans iniquitates colui in qua purus esse debui pueritiam dolosus egi. Adolevi nec factus citius adolescens quo citius mea pravitas adolevit. Iuvenis fui et attigi virum: sed vigit in me vicium semper pro virtute. Virtutem odio habui: amavi semper scelera: et abhorui bonitatem. In ceno vanitatis educatus sum: et secutus sum semitas impiorum. Libens iniquos ad vomitum excitavi et dux malorum fui libentius quam sequax. Quis furta referet: et extorta semper dilexi spolia et rapinas. Depredatus sum pauperem et egenum: depredatus sum viduam et pupillum depredatus sum extraneum et infirmum: templum quoque orarium et altare. In mendaciis et figmentis versatus sum: adulationes et fraudes super omnia adamavi. Arma lucis odio habui: et dilexi semper opera tenebrarum. Exquisivi aspera et deserui vias planas per deserta perrexi et per invia et inaquosa. Coram te domine malum egi: tu scis quia a male agentibus non dissensi. Heu mihi: quid faciam: aut quo ibo oportet per aciem tui iudicii me transire. Propterea domine miserere mei: quia non est remedium nec auxilium nisi tuum. Gloria patri et filio.

SUPERBIA

Superbire me non fecisti domine: et mea superbia est immensa. Sprevi te domine: parentes sprevi: superiores: humiles: et amicos. Et nunquam domine cognovi erecto supercilio: me solum super omnia exaltavi. Iactabam temere verba mea et elationis fimbrias ad sidera dilatabam: errex cornua et respexi celum: et te summum dominum non curavi. Et factus sum Lucifero similis immo excessi eum: qui nedum me tibi parem constitui sed maiorem. Nec contentus fui dominio domus mee: in servorum multitudine gloriabar. Infestus fui fratribus et vicinis: et ut preessem concivibus contumelias irrogabam. Nec passus sum aliquando proximum neque servum: elatus et stomachans omnia contemnebam. Credidi per superbiam exaltari: et in ea fuit tota gloria et pompa mea. In presumptione sapientiam existimavi: et quod sapiens non audebat insipiens ego sine timore presumebam. Sed quia magis immoror in hoc peccato: fui superbus et arrogans in omnes. Nec videbo qui talia possit ferre: nisi tu deus solus misericors et benignus. Tu fortis patiens et invictus: qui parcis contemptus blasphematus et negatus. Adiuva me domine et cor elatum ac presumptionis spiritum in me extingue. Gloria.

AVARICIA

Ubi tenacissima avaricia mea: ubi prodigalitas nephanda. Largitatem abominatus sum et habui odio largitatem. Propter avariciam domine nihil ommisi: propter hanc oppressi viduam et pupillum. Subii servitutis iugum: et abhorui libertatem: propter hanc adhesi impiis et

indignis et cum eis expendi infeliciter tempus meum: quo carius nihil habebam. Fui mendax varius et perjurus: solitus cupidus et raptor. Perdidi leticiam et quietem tribui semper tristiciam laborem. Propter hanc esurii et sitivi et sopivi et frigui: tremui et expavi. Ob hanc testimonium falsum tuli: feci iniquum iudicium et detestabilem simoniam. Sepe in necem proximi mei conspiravi: confinxi epistulas et membranas. Cor meum ad aurum et argentum nunquam ad te domine levavi. Nec misertus inopi et mendico: propter avariciam domine avertabam oculos ab egenis. Nec recte consului indigenti: iustum et pauperem in necessitatibus dereliqui. Dedi pecunias ad usuram: defraudavi rem publicam: et altare: et sitivi sanguinem innocentum. Nec compassus sum inopi debitori debitum et depositum denegavi. Ne dum accepi munera sed exegi: et sine pretio nihil feci. Et dixi congregabo thesaurum de sanguine inopum et iustorum: cum his de sanguinibus liberabor. Quam diu me domine tulisti: ut quandoque conversus refrenarer. Tu frena domine: tu solus potes modum et finem imponere cupiditatibus impiorum. Gloria patri.

LUXURIA

Quot variis quotque modis lumbis meis abusus sum confundor domine cum recorder. Subtraxi virginem patri suo: uxorem pauperi et vicino. Persecutus sum viduam et matronam: et que celibem vitam tibi domine dedicavit. Quam non potui dolis flectere flexi donis: et quam non vici precibus vici minis. Et que mihi continens repugnabat continentem obsequiis mentiebar: laxavi lumbos et umbilicum suum secutus sum et huiuscemodi vitio gloriam acquisivi. Fortis et casta mulier displicebat mihi et blandus oculus complacebat. Nec ad necessitatem tantum lumbos exercui sed ad voluptatem lasciviam exercebam. Nec una aut altera contentus eram maculare plurimas gloriabar. Sequabar assidue chorum psallentium et amatorias fabulas auscultavi. Induebar purpura et oculos liniebam ut facilius umbilicum incitarem. Vescabar aromatibus et falernis ut lumborum libidinem roborarem. Solicitus mechus socius mihi fuit et dorca pedisequa unica soror mea. Cum adulteris habitatio mea et portio erat: et inter greges brutorum meus brutior appetitus. Transgressus modum et terminum nature: et si quid fedius feci domine tu vidisti. O quam in hoc vitio me prostravi: nunc pudet dicere quod non pudet me fecisse. Sed heu dixi fateor minora: sed nunc abscondo pro verecundia et rubore maiora. Propterea gravior deliqui: sed tu domine respicies animam et pudorem. Gloria patri.

INVIDIA

Invidia mihi amica fuit: et caritas inimica. Inique invidi virtutibus et fortunis detraxi regibus: et momordi eos mendacio susurro odio livore. Obloquens proximo murmurabam: et ab alieno bono semper invidus marcebam. Iustorum laudes et merita denigravi: et malorum gloriam concupivi. Cum recti bene agerent invidebam: non ut agerem ego bene: sed quia volebam eos agere male. Si quando de rectis laudabilis sermo fuit obieci false maculas et dilecta. Si vero contra pravos infamia laborabat eos subito ad sidera extollebam. Non invidi labor-

ibus proximi nec erumpnis: sed tantum laudi glorie et honori. Accendi contra pium filium patrem suum: et contra fidelem servum dominum inflammavi. Castam coniugem contra virum: et fratres unanimes ad discordiam concitavi. Optavi proximo pauperiem et exilium naufragium carcarem egretudinem et laborem. Vita proximi odio mihi fuit: et in sola morte eius speravi requiem invenire. Ut paterentur innocui optabam pati: et cruciatibus illorum gratulabar. Sed heu quanto deterius invidi: invidi tue potentie et operibus que fecisti. Idcirco domine invidie oculos amove a me ut que recte sint videam et ea agam. Gloria patri.

GULA

Odi temperantiam et amavi gulam: et nihil ventris ingluvie melius existimavi. In potu ciboque votum meum posui: et illic censui summum bonum. In commensationibus et conviviis exultavi: dum esuriet pauper et sitiret. Crapula serotina delectatus sum: et complacuit mihi potatio matutina. Nec expectavi prandium neque cenam secutus sum semper insatiabilem voluptatem. Nec uno nec altero ferculo contentabar luxuriatus sum semper in multitudine ferculorum. Varietas dapum mihi gloria fuit et sumptuosa electaque cibaria acquirebam. Nec in fictilibus his vescebar abutebar autem his in vasis celatis auro et argento. Salsamenta herbaris salubrium abhorrebam nisi condita forent aromatibus preciosis. Nec ulla communia nec domestica sapiebant mihi: peregrina et specialia appetebam. Nec bina refectio satisfactio fuit: multiplex autem et repetita crapula me iuvabat. Fregi ieiunia: parens gule et naturam paucis contentam cum excessu nephario violavi. Sepe impletus estuans oscitabam: et fragmenta mense non egenis sed canibus erogabam. Clamabat pauper et ego sollicitus de crastina crapula cogitabam. Extulisti me domine usque quaque ut aliquando gulosam voraginem temperarem. Ne feras amplius domine sed succurre et ventris ingluviem tu coherce. Gloria patri et filio.

IRA

Abhorruui patientiam et dilexi iram nec causa suberat et irascebar. Iratus contra dominum contra patrem iratum me constitui contra matrem. Iratus movi iurgia: innocenti et servo contumelias irrogabam. Sepe ob iram meam domine te negavi maledixi parentibus fratribus et vicinis. Maledixi sanctis tuis domine maledixi vivificis elementis et omnibus operibus que fecisti. Totus interius corredebam rationem et leges omnes ab animo abdicavi. In furore et furiis gloriabar: et succensui semper pauperibus et egenis. Vita mea mihi odio fuit: et iratum me cum omni homine perdi pariter concupivi. Conspiravi libenter ad iniurias et vindictas ultionem tibi nunquam reservabam. Scandalisatus sum domine cum furiabam: nec responsio mollis: nec vir pacificus complacebat. In litibus et contentionibus oblectabar in effusione sanguinis et discidio civitatis. Inimicitias odia et dissensiones civium agitabam: et iratus sepe prelia concitavi. Cum ira in scandalo cuncta egi verba pacis et patientie semitas aspernabam et factus sum sicut insipiens et insanus qui redargutiones obaudit: nec amplectitur

disciplinam. Propterea ad te confugio salvator meus doce iram fugere exemplo tuo da mitem esse. Gloria patri et filio.

ACCIDIA

Colui accidiam tanquam matrem: fuit ocium mihi frater et desidia soror mea. Fugi exercitium et laborem et in sola negligentia estimavi fructum corporis invenire. Nec vigiles oculos in sacra lectione detinui nec in pio labore manus meas. Tota nocte dormiens dormitavi: nec ad galli cantum excitatus sum neque in matutinis anuntiavi laudem tuam. Sepe illuxit dies nec surgebam: ociabar in lecto: ne labores manuum manducarrem. Et bene operantes singulos irridebam: torpentes vero a bono opere commendavi. Ociabar domi nec tua sanctuaria visitabam: et panem doloris in ocio concupivi. Piguit me frangere esurienti panem meum cum tota die ad hostium exclamaret. Torpebam tibi reddendo per diem laudes: et quam raro in te meditatus sum domine tu vidisti. Nec sic torpui domine ad cogitationes vanas ad occupationes sceleris illecebras et delicta. Pre segnitie mea non visitabam in funere mortuum: nec in egritudine infirmum: nec in carcere peregrinum. Nec subveni inopi neque nudo: vacui ab omni opere bono et indulsi semper ocio vite mee. Excita me domine et torporem fuga: redde me iustificationibus tuis vigilem et intentum. Gloria.

Miseras tibi domine decantavi: et si quid alius feci domine non taceo. Neglexi deus iustificationes tuas: et contempsi doctrinam evangelisantium regnum tuum. Derisi sacerdotes tuos domine et levitas innocuos simul et pauperes et ignotos. Appostolorum canones aspernatus sum et decreta pontificum sum transgressus. Nec colui parentes meos nec honoravi senem neque precepta ecclesie custodi. Peccavi audiens: peccavi videns gustans et tangens omnia ac odorans. Peccavi ambulans stans sedens cogitans vigilans ac dormiens. Impatiens et invitus tuli adversitates meas: sed gloriatus sum semper in adversitatibus innocentum. In confessionibus et in psalmis non fui diligens nec devotus nec rectam conscientiam sed vulgi gloriam quaesivi. Sepe movi controversiam contra rectos et malui mendacio vincere quam succumbere veritate. In promissionibus largus eram fui parcissimus observator et nunquam cum potui redidi vota mea. Non consideravi domine que fecisti mihi: tu enim ad imaginem tuam me formasti: tradidisti mihi spiritum immortalem: capacem visibilium et invisibilium me fecisti. Celum et stellas tu ad solacium hominis creasti: mare et terram: et omnia que continentur in eis ad usum hominis fecisti. Addidisti mortem domine et gehennam: addidisti paradisum ut te melius contemplerer. Pro his omnibus que retribuui bene vides non ledas gratis humiliatum animum ac contritum. Aduva me domine et miserere mei: da veniam delinquenti et confitentem tibi domine ne repellas. Gloria patri.

THE CONFESSIONAL PSALMS OF FRANCESCO, POET LAUREATE AND VERY
RENOWNED ORATOR

The days pass by and the years glide along, but, unhappy man that I am, I do not meditate at all upon my sins. What shall I do, Lord, or whither shall I flee when my last day shall have come? Thou wilt call me to judgment and ask from me an account of the talent committed to me. Woe is me, what shall I answer thee? Confused, terrified, and trembling, I shall say: "Nothing, Lord, have I gained in addition, yea, I have miserably squandered thy talent." As though thou wilt not know thou wilt dissemble with me, when thou wilt search into my fortunes and the course of my life. Lord, thou knowest all my shortcomings, and graven with a pen of iron I bear them upon my forehead. Have compassion, Lord, upon thy servant, and enter not into judgment upon me, for I submit; and look not upon the multitude of my sins, but look upon the magnitude of thy mercy, O Lord, my God, that thou mayest not lose my soul, O my Redeemer, for thou hast redeemed it with thy blood. While I live, while I live, O Lord, I will make confession unto thee; I will lay bare and look upon all my sins, that thou mayest perceive in me a humble and contrite spirit, that thou mayest succor the perishing and reach out to me thy right hand.^a And assuredly I will make confession unto thee, O Lord; thou knowest how to have compassion, and thou art wont to spare the penitent and contrite. But alas, why do I remember my sins, while I commit new iniquities and forget the old? Oh, that I might remember a thousandth part of my sins, or one crime of a thousand thousand, that thus I might either be broken down or weep. And thou wilt pity the wretched and contrite. I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin was I brought up and nourished. As a babe I cherished evil deeds, and that infancy in which I should have been artless I spent in guile. I became a boy, but I grew up no faster than did my wickedness. I became a youth and attained manhood, but vice ever flourished in me in place of virtue. Virtue I had in abomination; I ever loved evil deeds and abhorred goodness. In the filth of vanity I was brought up, and I followed the footsteps of the impious. Gladly I urged the wicked to their filthiness, and rather was I a leader of the wicked than a follower. Who shall report my thefts? I even delighted ever in things taken by violence, in spoils and booty. I plundered the poor and the needy; I plundered the widow and the orphan; I plundered the stranger and the weak, even the church, the shrine and the altar. I was busied about lies and deceptions, above all I was fond of flatteries and frauds. I held in abomination the arms of light, and delighted ever in works of darkness. I sought out rough places, and I deserted level paths; I ranged through solitary regions and through dry places. Before thee I sinned, O Lord; thou knowest that I was not at variance with those who did evil. Woe is me; what shall I do, or whither shall I flee? I must needs pass through the battle-line of thy judgment. Therefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, since there is no help or aid but thine. Glory be to the Father and the Son.

^aReading *dexteram*.

PRIDE

Thou didst not make me to be proud, O Lord; and my pride is boundless. I scorned thee, O Lord; I scorned my parents, those in authority, the humble, and my friends. And never, Lord, did I know myself,⁴ because my pride was exalted. My single self I exalted above all things. I uttered boastful words, and the borders of my pride I spread out to the stars. I exalted my horn and gazed upon the sky; and of thee, the Almighty Lord, I took no heed. I became like Lucifer, nay, I exceeded him, since I made myself not to say equal to thee, but greater. I was not content with the rule of my house; I gloried in a multitude of servants. I injured my brethren and my neighbors, and that I might rule I offered affronts to my fellow citizens. Never did I tolerate neighbor or servant, in my pride and peevishness I despised all things. I believed myself to be ennobled by pride, and in this was all my vaunt and show. I thought that wisdom lay in presumption, and what a wise man feared to do, I in my folly presumed to do without fear. But why do I linger more upon this sin? I was proud and arrogant in everything.⁵ I shall not see one who is able to bear such deeds, unless it be thou, the only merciful and gracious God; thou, strong, patient, and invincible, who dost forbear to punish when despised, blasphemed, and denied. Help me, O Lord, and destroy in me a proud heart and a spirit of arrogance. Glory (be to the Father).

AVARICE

Where is that most persistent avarice of mine; where my most abominable prodigality? Generosity I had in abhorrence, and I hated liberality. Because of avarice, O Lord, I stopped short of nothing; because of this I oppressed the widow and the orphan; I put myself under the yoke of servitude and abhorred liberty; because of this I clung to the evil and unworthy, and with them passed my time, though I had nothing more precious than it. I was given to lies, untrustworthy, a breaker of oaths, anxious for the things of the world,⁶ covetous and a robber. I utterly gave up mirth and quiet, I put upon myself sadness and toil. Because of this I hungered and thirsted and fainted and suffered cold; I trembled and was afraid. Because of this I bore false witness, gave unrighteous judgment and committed hateful simony. Often I plotted for the ruin of my neighbor; I forged letters and documents; I lifted up my heart to gold and silver, but never to thee, O Lord. I did not pity the poor and the beggar; because of avarice, Lord, I turned away my eyes from the needy; I did not rightly counsel the poor; the righteous and the needy I abandoned in their necessities; I gave out my money to usury; I defrauded the state and the altar, and thirsted for the blood of the innocent; I had no compassion upon the needy debtor; I denied debt and deposit; I did not merely receive, but exacted rewards, and without recompense I

⁴Reading *me* with the variants.

⁵Reading *omni*.

⁶Reading *solicitus*.

did nothing; and I said, I will gather together treasure from the blood of the just and the needy; with these I will be freed from blood-guiltiness. How long hast thou borne with me, O Lord, that at some time I might be converted and checked! Keep me back, O Lord; thou only art able to set a limit and end to the deires of the wicked. Glory be to the Father.

LUST

As often as I remember in how many diverse ways I have also¹ abused my loins, I am confounded, O Lord. In stealth I drew away the virgin from her father, the wife from the poor and my neighbor. I pursued the widow and the wife, and her who dedicated a celibate life to thee, O Lord. I prevailed upon by gifts her whom I was unable to prevail upon by craft, and her whom I was unable to subdue by entreaties I subdued by threats; and the continent one who in her chastity repulsed me I deceived with flatteries. I freed my loins from bonds and followed their lust, and by sin of this sort I gained fame. A courageous and chaste woman was displeasing to me, and a wanton eye was pleasing. And I did not make use of my loins under great necessity, but used them in lascivious voluptuousness; and I was not contented with one or two; I delighted to defile many. I followed continually the chorus of singing girls, and listened to amorous tales. I wore crimson and painted my eyes that I might more easily arouse lust. I fed on spices and choice wines that I might strengthen the lust of my loins. A watchful fornicator was my companion and a lascivious serving woman my chosen familiar. With the adulterous was my habitation and portion, and among herds of brutes my appetite was more brutish. I indulged in excess and in unnatural lust; if ever anything more foul I did, Lord, thou hast seen it. Oh, how I debased myself in this vice! I am now ashamed to speak what I was not ashamed to do. But alas, I have spoken (I confess it), only of the lesser things, but now conceal the greater for shamefacedness and modesty. Therefore I have sinned more grievously, but thou, Lord, wilt look upon my desire and my shame. Glory be to the Father.

ENVY

Envy was a friend to me and love an enemy. Wrongfully I hated virtues and fortunes; I disparaged kings and attacked them with lying, murmuring, hatred and spite. I spoke slanderously of my neighbor, and ever languished because of envy at the prosperity of another. I blackened the praiseworthy and commendable actions of the just, and coveted the renown of the wicked. When the just succeeded I was envious, not that I might do well, but since I wished them to have ill success. Whenever there was praiseworthy speech of the good, I falsely pointed out blemishes and sins. If, however, ill report strove against the wicked, I at once extolled them to the skies. I did not envy the labors and calamities of my neighbor, but only his praise,

¹Reading *quoque*.

glory and honor. I incited the father against the dutiful son, and moved the master against the faithful servant. The chaste wife I stirred up against her husband, and brethren living in harmony I moved to discord. I desired for my neighbor poverty and exile, shipwreck, prison, sickness, and labor. The life of my neighbor was hateful to me, and in his death alone I hoped to find repose. That the innocent might suffer, I desired to suffer, and I rejoiced in their agonies. But alas, in how much worse a way I envied; I envied thy power and the works which thou didst. Therefore, O Lord, take from me eyes of envy that I may perceive what things are just and right, and do them. Glory be to the Father.

GLUTTONY

I hated temperance and loved gluttony and thought nothing better than gluttonous excess. In drink and food I set all my desire, and there I thought was the greatest good. In feasts and banquets I exulted, while the poor hungered and thirsted. In late drunkenness I delighted, and early drinking was pleasing to me. I did not wait for midday or evening meal; I continually followed insatiable desire. I was not contented with one or two dishes; I ever rioted in a multitude of dishes. A variety of feasts was glory to me and I sought out splendid and chosen victuals. And I did not devour them from earthen dishes, but I consumed them from vessels plated with gold and silver. Sauces of wholesome herbs^a I despised unless they were seasoned with precious spices. Nothing common or home grown pleased me; I desired the foreign and peculiar. Two meals did not satisfy me, but various and repeated feasting was a delight to me. Yielding to gluttony I broke fasts, and nature content with little I violated with vile excess. Often after gorging I was oppressed by heat and yawned; even the fragments from the table I bestowed not on the needy but on the dogs. The poor man called out and I, in my lust, was thinking of future carousing. Thou hast borne with me thus far, O Lord, that at some time I might forbear gluttonous voracity. Do not endure longer, O Lord, but give aid and restrain gluttony. Glory be to the Father and to the Son.

WRATH

I loathed patience and delighted in wrath. There was no cause, and I was angry. I was enraged against master, against father; in rage I set myself against my mother. In wrath I occasioned disputes; I offered affronts to the innocent and the servant. Often because of wrath I denied thee, O Lord; I cursed my parents, brethren, and neighbors; I cursed thy saints, O Lord; I cursed the life-giving elements, and all the works which thou hast done. I wholly wore away judgment within me. In madness and violent passions I gloried and I was ever inflamed against the poor and needy. I held my life in despite; and in my wrath I desired myself as well as every other man to be lost. I gladly plotted for injuries and revenges; never did I leave vengeance

^a Reading *herbarum*.

to thee, O Lord. I was tempted to evil, O Lord, while I was raging. A soft answer or a peaceable man was not pleasing to me. In lawsuits and contentions I took delight, in shedding of blood and disunion of the state. I stirred up strife and hatred and dissension among the citizens; and in my rage I often roused up contentions. In my wrath, I made into a cause of offense all words of peace and scorned the paths of patience, and became as the foolish and frantic man who resents reproach and does not regard restraint. Therefore I flee to thee, my Saviour; teach me to shun wrath by thy example; give me power to be gentle. Glory be to the Father and to the Son.

SLOTH

I cherished sloth as my mother; laziness was as a brother to me and indolence as my sister. I fled from practices and labor, and in heedlessness alone I thought to find the use and enjoyment of the body. I did not keep my eyes watchful in sacred reading, or my hands in holy labor. I slumbered and slept the whole night. I did not arise at the crowing of the cock, nor did I declare thy praise in the matins. Often the day dawned and I did not arise; I enjoyed my leisure in bed that I might not eat the labors of my hands. And each of those who were laboring well I laughed to scorn; yea, those whom idleness kept from good work I commended. I lingered at home and did not visit thy sanctuaries. The bread of sorrow I wished for in sloth. I neglected to break my bread to the hungry, when all day long he cried out at my door. I was slothful in giving thee praises through the day; and thou hast seen, O Lord, how seldom I have meditated upon thee. I was not thus insensible to empty thoughts, to works of evil, allurements, and sins. Because of my sluggishness I did not attend the burial of the dead, or the infirm in sickness, or the stranger in prison. I did not give aid to the poor or the naked; I lacked every good work and ever indulged my life with idleness. Rouse me up, O Lord, and drive away slumber; make me again watchful and zealous by thy righteousness. Glory (be to the Father).

I have repeated my sorrows over and over to thee, O Lord; and if I have done aught else I am not silent, O Lord. I have neglected, O God, thy righteousness and despised the saving doctrine of those preaching thy kingdom. I have derided thy priests, O Lord, and thy harmless deacons, and at the same time the poor and the obscure. I have disdained the canons of thy apostles, and have transgressed the decrees of the popes. I have not cherished my parents, or honored the aged man, or kept the precepts of the church. I have sinned in hearing; I have sinned in seeing, tasting, touching all things, and in smelling. I have sinned in walking, standing, sitting, thinking, watching, and sleeping. Impatiently and unwillingly I have borne my afflictions, but I have ever rejoiced in the afflictions of the innocent. In confessions and in psalms I have not been diligent or faithful, and I have sought not an upright conscience, but the praise of the multitude. Often I have stirred up contention against the just, and I have preferred to prevail

by falsehood rather than to yield with truth on my side. In promises I was liberal; I have been most-niggardly in keeping them, and whenever I have been able I have not fulfilled my vows. I have not considered, O Lord, what thou hast done for me, thou hast even made me in thine own image; thou hast committed to me an immortal soul; thou hast made me able to comprehend visible and invisible things. Heaven and the stars thou hast created for the comfort of man; the sea and the land and all things which in them are, thou hast made for the use of man. Thou hast added death, O Lord, and hell; thou hast added paradise that I might better contemplate thee. Thou seest well what I have rendered thee for all these. Mayest thou not in thy grace harm a humble and contrite spirit. Aid me, O Lord, and have compassion upon me; give pardon to the sinner, and turn not away, O Lord, from him whose trust is in thee. Glory be to the Father.

VARIANTS

Caption V, S, Francisci Petrarche Laureati Psalmi—2 S, Confectionales caute tamen ac sobrie legendi.

INTRODUCTION

1 S, nil—2 S², ibi for ibo—3 V, S, requires—S, a lacking—S², de lacking—4 S, confessus—6 V, S, nescius—V, S, mecum—8 S², stylo—In the MS. a word is crossed out between fronte and gero—9-11 Nec respicias ad multitudinem peccatorum: sed respice—V, S, Nec minus ad multitudinem miserarum mearum aspicere—11 S, et for ut—12 V, S, domine lacking—S, confitebitur—13 V, S, domine follows tibi—S, et videbo lacking—Ut: S, Et—14 V, S, spiritum in me agnoscas—V, S, citius follows extendas—V, S, dexteram—15 V, S, confitear—S, miserere—V, S, scis lacking—16 peccata: V, S, delicta—17 S, et lacking—18 V, millibus—vel: V, et—20 V, S, et follows colui—21 V, S, sum follows factus—23 S, vitium—24 S, sceno for ceno—S, libens follows second et—25 S, semper follows sum—S, incitavi—26 S, futura for furtas—27 V, S, Dilexi semper—29 S, et follows quoque—31 semper opera: S, super omnia—33 a: V, S, et; The letter is written above the line in the MS. 34 aut: V, vel; In the MS. cum is written in the place here given to aut, and aut written above. Probably cum was to have been cancelled—35 S², transiere—V, S, neque—36 V, S, et filio lacking—V, etc. follows patri. An illegible word follows filio in the MS.

SUPERBIA

Cap. V, Sequitur de superbia. I—1 Superbire: V, S, Superbum—V, S, non lacking—3 V, S, me follows domine—4 MS., elationes—S², sydera—5 V, erexi—6 S, imo—7 V, S, nondum parem me tibi—MS., aorem—12 S, tam gloria quam—13 S, audebar—V, S, sine lacking—V, S, tumore—14 S, omni—15 deus solus: S, solus dominus—16 Tu: V, S, Vir—17 V, etiam et iurgatus; S, et etiam iurgatus—domine: S, deus—ac: V, S, et—18 V, S, gloria patri, etc.

AVARICIA

Cap. V, De Avaritia II; S², Avaritia—1 V, Ibi; S², Ubbi—V, S², avaritia—V, ineffanda; S, nephanda lacking—2 V, S, Legalitatem—V, S², abominatus; S²,

abominatus—V, semper odio—V, S¹, avaritiam—3 V, domine *lacking*—V, S, nil—V, S¹, omisi; S¹, S², obmisi—5 V, dilexi *follows* indignis—V, S, nil—6 V, S¹, sollicitus; S¹, S², sollicitus *for* solitus—7 V, S, letitiam. *In the MS. letitiam is crossed out after semper*—8 V, S, esurivi—9 V, S, sermonem *for* simoniam—11 V, S, cor *follows* domine; *in the MS. cor is crossed out after domine*—12 sum *follows* misertus—15 V, S, innocentem—16 S, Nec dum—17 S, precio—V, S, thesauros—18 V, S, et *precedes* cum—19 V, domine me—V, S, conversus *lacking*—21 S¹, S², patri *lacking*—V, etc. *follows* patri.

LUXURIA

Cap. V, De Luxuria III—1 V, S, Quam—S, quoque—2 V, S, dum—4 V, dicavit—dolus: V, S, donis—donis: V, S, dolis—5 vici: S, potui vincere—6 V, S, incontinentem—obsequiis: V, S, obloquens—V, S, sum—7 V, S, sum *lacking*—V, huiusmodi—9 sed ad: S, et—V, S, et *follows* voluptatem—11 assidue: S, quotidie—S, thorum—V, S, puellarum *follows* psallentium—13 S, valernis—MS., libinem—14 V, sollicitus—V, S, mihi socius—V, S, mea *lacking*—15 V, S, mea *follows* portio—16 V, S, meus *lacking*—V, S, sum *follows* appetitus—et terminum: V, S, terminumque—17 S, O *lacking*—18 V, S, fatebor—19 V, pudore—V, S, maiora *follows* abscondo, *not* rubore. *In the MS. it is written under rubore and its place indicated by a caret*—20 V, S¹, S², respicias; S², despicias—21 S, patri *lacking*—V, sicut erat etc. *follows* patri.

INVIDIA

Cap. V, De Invidia IIII. 1 S, charitas—invidi: S, mundi—2 regibus: V, principibus—S¹, detradi—V, S, et *follows* odio—4 invidus: S, mundus—5 S², invidebant—6 V, ego *follows* quia—7 S, falsas—8 S, sydera—9 S, erumnis—13 S, odium—14 S, et *lacking*—15 *In MS. pati is written above the line*—V, S, illorum cruciatibus—16 invidi (*second*): V, tibi—17 V, sunt—18 V, etc. *follows* patri.

GULA

Cap. V, De Gula V—1 V, S, nil—2 ciboque: V, S, et cibo—V, S, posui votum meum—3 V, comessationibus—4 S, potatio *lacking*—5 S, neque *also precedes* prandium—V, S, semper *lacking*—6 ferculo: V, cibo—8 electaque: V, ac electa; S, et electa—V, S, exquirebam—10 V, S, herbarum—S, ab *follows* forent—11 V, S, omnia *follows* peregrina—12 V, S, mihi *follows* bina—V, satis—13 MS., parentens; *a cancellation seems to have been intended*—14—15 V, S, repletus et—16 V, S, ut surdus *follows* ego—V, S¹, S², sollicitus—S², crastia—17 V, Substulisti—19 et filio: V, etc.—S¹, et spi. *follows* filio.

IRA

Cap. De Ira VI—2 V, S, iratum *for* iratus—3 S¹, S², novi—S, irrigabam—4 V, S, meam *lacking*—6 V, tuis *follows* operibus—7 S, legem omnem—8 V, S, semper *lacking*—9 V, S, aspiravi; *in the MS. espiravi was written, then ex crossed out and con written above*—10 V, S, domine *follows* tibi—V, S, reservavi—11 V, S, Scandalizatus—cum: V, S¹, S², dum; S², non—13 V, S, confusione—S², dissidio—S, inimicicias—V, odio—17 V, S, et *follows* fugere—18 et filio: V, etc.—S, patri et filio *lacking*.

ACCIDIA

Cap. V, De Accidia VII; Invid is written and crossed out in MS. before Accidia—1 S², Nolui—2 V, S, in lacking—V, S, solam negligentiam—V, existimavi—3 V, S, operis—V, S, tenui—4 In the MS. labore is written above the line; V, S, opere for labore—5 V, S, nec for neque—V, annuntiavi; S, annuntiavi—6 V, S, dies lacking—S, manuum labores—7 V, manducarem—8 In the MS. the second a of sanctuaria is written above the line—9 V, S, in ocio lacking—10 V, S, dum—V, S², ad ostium; S¹, S², ab ostium—10-11 V, S, per diem tibi reddere—12 V, S, domine lacking—13 V, S, visitavi—16 V, otio—V, S, fugans—17 V, etc. follows Gloria—S², patri follows Gloria.

PSALMUS

Cap. V, this section is headed Psalmus—1 V, meas follows miserias—2 S, tacebo—2-3 V, S, evangelizantium—3 regnum: V, nomen—4 V, S, et lacking—V, Apostolorum—5 V, S, et consilia patrum follows sum—6 neque: V, nec; pita is crossed out after neque in MS.—8 V, S, Peccavi follows ambulans—ac: V, et—9 In the MS. adversitates meas was first written adversans mihi; ans and mihi were crossed out and the corrections written above—11 rectam: V, S, testem—V, S, exquisivi—S, novi—13 S², veritati—15 V, S, tuam imaginem—17 V, ad solatium hominis tu creasti; S, ad solacium hominis tu creasti—18 S, tu follows addidisti—19 V, paradisum addidisti—21 V, S, animum lacking—23 V, etc. follows patri; S¹, S², et filio follows patri; S², patri lacking—An illegible word follows patri in the MS—S¹, S², conclude with Finiunt psalmi confessionales Fran. Pe.; S², Finiunt psalmi confessionales Francisci petrarche—V, adds a paragraph headed Oratio.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Lirici Marinisti a cura di Benedetto Croce. Bari, Laterza, 1910. 8vo, pp. 559. (Scrittori d'Italia.)

This anthology of 17th century lyric verse of the fashionable kind, is a welcome gift to students of Italian literature. It contains selections from seventy-two authors; occupies some 519 pages, and has the peculiar advantage of being material for study which was formerly almost inaccessible, since almost none of the poets represented are to be read in modern editions, and the American student, at least, was consequently obliged to form his ideas of 17th century lyric verse from what is said in works which deal with the subject, and from the poems of Marino and one or two others.

This collection, the editor tells us,¹ has been made from 150 "canzonieri," and with the object of providing the material needed for studying the lyric of this century. Accordingly it has been made without regard for what might be considered good or bad verse, but aims to give examples of everything which is characteristic of the kind it is intended to represent. That kind is the poetry of "marinisti," and by this name are intended all those poets who "moved in the circle of inspiration traced by Marino," whether self-confessed followers of the latter or even his opponents in some secondary sense. Needless to say, the poems of Marino himself, whose works are accessible and so voluminous that a representative selection would demand a volume to itself, are not included. Nothing could be more satisfactory, and the variety and number of poems chosen, together with the name of the editor, assure us that his object has been attained.

The order of the selections is, as the editor tells us, mainly chronological. The poets are grouped in twelve sections, each of which is more or less homogeneous as regards the respective birth-places of the authors and the character of their works. Girolamo Fontanella, whom the editor considers, in some ways, the most notable of "marinisti," and who certainly is one of the most typical; Ciro di Pers, whose inspiration is less sensuous than that of the others who have any, and Giuseppe Battista, who has none, to my mind, but whose poems are chiefly moral and pseudo-scientific, have each a section to himself. One long section contains a few poems—sometimes only one sonnet—from each of many authors who, apparently, could not be grouped in any other way. Each of the divisions is in chronological order as regards the others.

The notes at the end of the volume give the sources whence the selections have been made, and other valuable bibliographical information. References are given to notes containing biographical information, and in many cases the dates and birthplace of authors are given. One would be grateful if these last-mentioned data had been supplied for all the poets: section iv, which offers pickings from thirty-seven authors, contains very little of this kind, but no doubt it is unobtainable regarding some of them, while others are so well known, Maffeo

¹ Pp. 525-526.

² *Saggi*, ecc., p. 414.

Barberini, *e. g.*, that the editor has not thought it worth while to give it.³ No one will complain that the editor has invented new titles for the poems, considering how suitable they are, and how indefinite and prolix were the old ones.

A volume of essays by Croce,⁴ which has followed hard on the publication of *Lirici Marinisti*, contains one new essay which is in the nature of an introduction to the edition in question.⁵ This is an admirably clear exposition of his the preface to the same volume, p. xxiii, and the notice by Arthur Livingston in views on the nature of 17th century lyric verse, which are mainly as follows:

The chief tendencies which characterize the lyric verse of Marino and the marinists are two: the *sensuous* ("sensuale"), which was called by the poets themselves "lasciva," and the *ingenious*, called by them "concettosa." Of these the former might be productive of aesthetic literature, but not the latter. It was the sensuous tendency, far more than the ingenious, which produced and influenced the verse of these poets. Marino himself in *La Bruna Pastorella* advises one lover by the mouth of another, to pass over, in reading his *Lira*, the "carmi gravi" to come to the "più soavi." But the chief evidence is to be seen, we are told, in the body of the verse of marinists, in which the subject is nearly always love of a voluptuous kind, often verging on the obscene. It is chiefly erotic poetry, dealing with woman, with every imaginable detail of her outward appearance, with every one of her daily actions, with all her possible attitudes. Those of these poems which are not concerned with woman are mostly sensuous descriptions of nature, as numerous varied as those of women. The comparatively few concerning moral or religious matters are without feeling; it is rare to find an ethical sentiment expressed as forcibly as sensuous feeling; sometimes sensuality is actually compared to its own advantage with morality; "altre corde, fuori di queste sensuali, non vibrano, o vibrano debolmente."⁶

A comparison of poetry and painting in this century reveals a striking resemblance between the two in subject and treatment. In both appear the same mythological figures and figures of saints; in both the sacred and profane are mingled in the same grotesque manner; in both appears the same visual sensuousness throughout, and these facts tend to confirm the opinion that the living element in 17th century poetry is the sensuous.

That this element may be productive of aesthetic literature has already been said; it is so productive in Marino, and of marinists who are so successful Croce cites Stigliani, Macedonio, Della Valle, Paoli, Giovanetti, Sempronio, Salomoni, Quirini and especially Fontanella, giving us to understand that in these poets the results are excellent, while they are less perfect but still admirable in many others. Of the other element, ingeniousness, he finds little good to say. It may

³ On p. 533 the order of the notes differs from the real order of the poems, which is given correctly in the index: the sonnets "τα κατακρήνη" and "Zitella Romanesca Ritrosa" are mentioned before the sonnet "Il Pallone" of Martino Lunghi.

⁴ *Saggi sulla Letteratura Italiana del Seicento*. Bari, Laterza, 1911.

⁵ *Sensualismo e Ingegneria nella Lirica del Seicento*, *Saggi*, pp. 379-433. Cf. the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, II, pp. 108-110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 384. We might add for evidence the stanza of Stigliani, which concludes: "che 'l senso è divo e la ragion terrena." *Lirici ecc.*, p. 16.

⁷ *Saggi*, p. 413.

take part in producing aesthetic results in a parody or in poems of a mirthful character, trifling in their nature: some few marinists have taken advantage of this possibility. Usually ingeniousness hides or fails to hide aesthetic poverty; it introduces a pedantic and empty phraseology, and, what is worse, is substituted for genuine expression of feeling, and becomes an object in itself, often causing a poem begun with feeling to end in curious but forced antitheses. Its effects become worse with time, so that the later marinists are more futile in this respect than the earlier.

There is a certain resemblance, often mentioned, between the marinists and the "d'annunziani" of to-day, but it consists far more in the sensuousness of both than in their "concettismo"; in both Marino and D'Annunzio, and in the followers of both, we find a notable absence of ethical sentiment. The titles and sub-titles of the poems of both constitute a resemblance of secondary importance. Both Marino and D'Annunzio sacked ancient and contemporary literature for material, and another resemblance is to be seen in the attempts of the marinists to issue from the narrow circle of sensuousness, when compared with the symbolism of D'Annunzio, which would seem, and is not, freighted with deep meaning.

The points mentioned above are the most important in this introduction to the collection "Lirici Marinisti." My brief summary, however, does not worthily represent the essay, which contains many facts and judgments that I have not referred to; nor have I spoken of the abundant examples, taken from the poems in question, with which Croce supports his contentions. To read the poems themselves is to agree with him that two of the most important productive elements in this body of verse are the sensuous and the ingenious. Nor can any one who accepts, as I do, the well-known views of our editor regarding the nature of the aesthetic, doubt that of these two elements the sensuous is the one capable of producing aesthetic results.

One may reasonably differ with him, however, as to the extent to which these results occur. The numerous examples given by Croce in his essay, illustrating the variety of erotic poems by marinists,⁸ are commented on by him in such a way as to leave no doubt that he esteems them aesthetically. These are, apparently, examples picked to show what of artistic the sensuous inspiration can produce in this erotic verse: in more than a few cases the most successful part of a poem is presented, the rest being discarded as not apt for illustration. And yet the reading of these examples leaves one in doubt as to whether there is any real feeling, any inspiration in them. Take for example the following sonnet of Maia-Materdona, one of the least frigid of these illustrations:

Ad un tempo col sol madonna desta
 Apre del ciel d'un volto i gemin' astri,
 Bagna di nanfe i teneri alabastri
 E serici al bel fianco arnesi appresta.
 Lo specchio adatta e de l'inculta testa
 Ara il crin sciolto con eburnei rastri,
 L'accoglie e intreccia con argentei nastri
 E di mille narcisi indi il tempesta.
 Increspa il più minuto a ferreo stile,

⁸ *Saggi*, pp. 388-398.

A l'orecchie sospende aurate anella,
 E fa di perle al collo e d'or monile.
 Esce alfin di sua reggia, e sì favella,
 Ne' suoi silenzi: "Or chi da Battro a Tile
 Vide cosa già mai di me più bella?"*

Does one, on reading these lines, feel any sensuous pleasure corresponding to a genuinely sensuous expression in the sonnet? To this question I am obliged to answer that I do not though others may: I cannot but leave the matter in doubt. To me it seems that the author has had only a vague intuition of something sensuously splendid, and has consciously attempted to express his impression by means of a more or less skilful enumeration of details. Most of the other illustrations also fail to affect me, and I cannot but sympathize with another reviewer of this edition⁹ who fails to see in the verses of Fontanella on a cradle and on sending a pair of gloves to a lady,¹⁰ any tenderness or effectiveness.

Needless to say this is not the case with regard to all the poems in the collection: there is frank and effective sensuality in *I Baci* of Antonio Bruni, *L'Amor Nostro* of Tiberio Sbarra, *Baciando* of Pietro Paolo Bissari, *Amori* of Pietro Michiele, *Amori* of Leonardo Quirini, and there is graceful sensuous description of the erotic kind in *Gli Occhi e il Seno* of Giambattista Pucci, in *La Via Lattea* of Scipione Errico, in *Il Bagno nel Lago* and *La Dormente* of Marcello Giovanetti. In these poems the effectiveness of the sensuous element needs no explanation, but in most of the poems dealing with love and woman the sensuousness is so feeble as to have no effect at all, and in the examples given by Croce in his introductory essay, it is such as to leave us in doubt as to whether there is any definite intuition.

It should be noted that in the illustration from Maia-Materdona which I have transcribed, the ingeniousness is not so marked as to offend the modern reader. There are few "concetti" or tricks of any sort, and yet the effect is negative. An illustration of another kind is a quatrain taken from *La Cortigiana Frustata* of Brignole-Sale.¹¹ The whole sonnet is as follows:

La man che ne le dita ha le quadrella
 con duro laccio al molle tergo è avvolta.
 L'onta a celar ch'è ne le guance accolta,
 spande il confuso crin ricca procella.
 Sul dorso ove la sferza empia flagella,
 grandine di rubini appar disciolta;
 già dal livor la candidezza è tolta,
 ma men candida ancor non è men bella.
 Su quel tergo il mio cor spiega le piume
 e, per pietà di lui già tutto essangue,
 ricever le ferite in sè presume.
 In quelle piaghe agonizzando ei langue;
 ma nel languir non è il premier costume
 che il sangue corra al cor: ei corre al sangue.¹²

* *Saggi*, p. 388.

⁹ Antonio Belloni in *G. S. L. It.*, lviii (1911), p. 199, ss.

¹⁰ *Saggi*, p. 389.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹² *Lirici*, p. 300.

It is evident that this sonnet, which promised better in the first verses, has been ruined by "concettismo": the result is as cold as ingeniousness without feeling can produce. But why is this? Surely there could be no better subject than this—a beautiful woman tied up and whipped—to inspire sensuous poetry.¹⁴ The conclusion to which one is driven is that the poet's impressions of his subject were too vague, his sensuous feeling was too feeble to triumph over his active ingeniousness.

Here is the same kind of sensuousness which one finds, for the most part, in the poetry of Marino, who has been misnamed the poet of voluptuousness. Compare most of the would-be luscious descriptions in the *Adone* with the erotic tableaux in the *Gerusalemme* or in the *Orlando Furioso*; compare Falsirena and Adone with Rinaldo and Armida, that Armida who is, we are told, "la Venere genitrice di tutte le donne dei marinisti."¹⁵ It is a weak and watery sensuousness that we have in most marinists as in their master. Marino pretended to avoid the obscene, but if he had written much intentionally indecent verse, it would no doubt have been as ineffectual as his "lascivia"; the marinists do not always avoid the obscene, but where is the sensuousness in a sonnet like τα καταμήνια,¹⁶ which deals with the menstruation of the beloved woman?

That very fertility in inventing erotic subjects, the astonishing variety of which is well illustrated by Croce, is evidence of the absence of real sensuous feeling in most of the poems, for the beauty of woman has been the source of inspiration for sensuous poems in all ages, without the conscious, brain-tormenting search after novelties of detail and circumstance of that beauty, which may drive authors to write, for example, of the missing tooth in the mouth of a lady, through the gap left by which love shoots his darts,¹⁷ or of beauty engaged in that daily, wholesome but rarely described function imagined by Menzini in his fourth satire.

In the verse which has the beauties of nature for its subject we find qualities similar to those of the erotic. In many of the poems occur short passages which may seem to be pure sensuous inspiration, as in some of the examples given by Croce,¹⁸ but almost invariably what follows or precedes these passages destroys that impression. On the other hand some few preserve the impression throughout as do *Ombra di Nuove Foglie* of Achillini, *Paesaggio* of Preti, *Il Ruscelletto* of Claudio Achillini, and *Al Melogranato* of Girolamo Fontanella, while in others we have virtuosity shown in tiresome enumeration of things and their qualities instead of description, as in *La Trinità di Cava* of Giovanni Canale, *In Villa* of Girolamo Preti and *A Posilipo* and *I Piaceri della Villa* of Fontanella. Others in which "concettismo" is not obtrusive, and in which there is no virtuosity of description, are nevertheless without inspiration of any sort. Such is the following sonnet of Marcantonio Arlotto:¹⁹

¹⁴ Especially if there is, as Croce believes (*Saggi* ecc., p. 386), something peculiarly shady in the sensuality of some of these poets, suggestive of perversion.

¹⁵ *Saggi*, p. 396.

¹⁶ *Lirici*, p. 214.

¹⁷ *Lirici Marinisti*, p. 287.

¹⁸ *Saggi*, pp. 398-406.

¹⁹ *Lirici Marinisti*, p. 203.

In cima a quegli' altissimi dirupi,
 ove sol fra latebre e ripostigli
 stanزان veloci damme, ingordi lupi,
 sals' io l'altr' ier, non senza aspri perigli.
 E poi che nulla v'è che 'l guardo occùpi,
 vidi scherzar fra teneri vincigli,
 d'alto mirando giù ne' fondi cupi,
 due vezzosetti e timidi conigli.

Ratto caláimi da la balza alpestre
 e, rannicchiato e quatto, ambi pigliai,
 giuntili tra i ginebri e le ginestre.

A te, Nisa, gli serbo, ed anco avrai
 da me più vaga fèra e men silvestre,
 se men fèra e selvaggia a me sarai.

Simple as the sonnet is, one receives from it no feeling, unless it be humorous: nothing but the conviction that no such person ever caught rabbits in any such way. As for the author's sense of the beauty of nature, the fifth verse: "E poi che nulla v'è che 'l guardo occùpi," is naively significant.

It seems to me that in the poems descriptive of nature as in the erotic verse, the sensuous element is generally so feeble as to be unproductive of anything aesthetic—this with the exception of a relatively small number of compositions—while the ingenious element is as destructively prevalent in the one kind as in the other. No doubt it is reasonable to point out analogies between Marino and the marinists on the one hand, and D'Annunzio and his followers on the other, but there still remains the important difference that the works of D'Annunzio are the product of an extraordinarily vigorous sensuality, while those of Marino and of these poets, although properly described as sensuous, are without that vigor.

Where in these poems we have genuinely sensuous expression, it is far less frequently of visual or erotic sensuousness than of auditory. Many of them have a truly musical quality which would produce the same pleasant though vague impression even if the words had no meaning, and often enough that pleasant impression vanishes as soon as one realizes the meaning of the words. Take for example *Il Riso* of Giuseppe Salomoni, of which the first stanza is as follows:

Qualor da bel disio
 tratto gli occhi e la mente,
 gli occhi e la mente al mio bel sole affiso,
 sì dolce al guardo mio
 si scopre e si lucente,
 che da me dolce il cor resta diviso.
 D'oro è il crin, d'ostro il viso;
 ma più che l'oro e più che l'ostro eletto
 il crine arde e fiammeggia,
 il viso arde e lampeggia;
 d'alabastro è la man, d'avorio il petto,
 e nel bel ciglio splende
 fiamma d'amor che mille fiamme accende.²⁰

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

Such examples as these are not infrequent,²¹ and offer a happy relief to those who must for any reason toil through the other unlovely stuff. In some poems the meaning of the words is so slight as not to interfere at all with the musical impression, as in the graceful trifle of Brignoli-Sale which begins as follows:

Chi nel regno almo d'Amore
brama l'ore—trar serene
fuor di pene,
d'una sola amante stolto
non si chiami;
molte n'ami, — ma non molto.²²

And in others—fewer of course—the musical impression is so well fused with the other impressions, as to produce, in spite of "concettismo" and conventional language, excellent verse. Such is the following sonnet of Ciro di Pers, and others by the same author would serve equally well as examples:

Fortunata fanciulla, al ciel nascesti
non alla terra, e non ti fu immatura
l'ora fatal che dei tesori celesti
e dell' eterno ben ti fe' sicura.
Tu breve il corso della morte avesti,
che con lungo penare altri misura;
la frale umanità poco piangesti,
poco spirasti di quest' aria impura.
Chi solca il mar del mondo ogn' or aduna
maggior peso di colpa, e' cammin torto
sul tardi dell' età vie più s'imbruna.
Viaggio avesti tu spedito e corto;
navicella gentil fu la tua cuna,
che ti sbarcò del paradiso al porto.²³

As for the moral and religious verse, one cannot but agree with our editor that it is almost entirely without either moral or religious feeling. He has pointed out that some of the poems are openly immoral, and it is equally true that a number of those on religious subjects are unconsciously but grossly impious. So, for example, Gennaro Grosso in *Cristo Esortante alla Confessione* puts into the mouth of Christ the conventional poetical language, full of elaborate antitheses and one mythological reference; Giuseppe Artale in *Santa Maria Maddalena* describes the effect on the susceptible Saviour, of the golden hair and other charms of the Magdalene.

²¹ See Stigliani, *Il Dono del Fiore* (Lirici, p. 4); Macedonio, *Disfida delle Acque* ecc. (25); Preti, *Paesaggio* (58); Errico, *La Via Lattea* (140 ss.); Galeani, *Il Dono della Lepre* (181); Massini, *Il Vino* (190); Leonida, *La Bellezza al Tramonto* (204); Cormani, *La Dormente* ecc. (208); Fontanella, *Al Fiume Sebeto* (236); Quirino, *Serenata* (330); L. Casaburi, *Le Lagrime* (499); Perucci, *L'Oroscopio* (518-21).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²³ *Per una Nipotina dell' Autore la quale visse pochi giorni*, *ibid.*, p. 373. Cf. also *La Lotta col Tempo*, p. 367.

Antonio Belloni, in the review already mentioned,²⁴ accuses Croce of a tendency to "trovare bello tutto ciò che prima d'ora fu considerato come brutto," a criticism which seems to me excessive, and in harmony with a good deal more said by the reviewer which has in it more than a trace of bitterness. When, however, Belloni says that there is in Croce's essay a "pizzico" of exaggeration, he seems to me to be right. For although our editor admits that 17th century literature is, in an empirical and relative sense, "letteratura di decadenza," because it is without ethical sentiment,²⁵ still he believes that visual and erotic sensuousness is a living element in this marinistic poetry, and productive of much that is valuable, whereas it seems to me that, in the greater part of this verse, the undeniable sensuality of the authors has produced almost nothing which expresses any sentiment either ethical or sensuous, while what sensuousness is expressed is of the auditory kind which produces music.²⁶

Ingeniousness, the other important element of the marinistic lyric mentioned by Croce, is shown chiefly in the invention of "concetti," in "concettismo," and this has always seemed such a striking feature of 17th century writing that it has been illustrated and emphasized by all who have written on this period. Its evil effects are analyzed in an illuminating way by our editor,²⁷ who, however, points out that the "concetto" may become poetical not only in parody but also in verse in which the subject is not taken over-seriously by the author, in verse which is of a mirthful character,²⁸ as, for example, in *Contro l'Amare una Bellezza Solo* by Ciro di Pers:

Due begli occhi ha Lisetta
ed ha Clori un bel sen di vivi avori:
di Lisetta amo gli occhi e'l sen di Clori.²⁹

But it seems to me that the "concetto" may be similarly transformed into poetry, that is, become expressive of true sentiment, even in verse which is not jocose, as in the sonnet, also by Ciro di Pers, *Le Chiome Nere*, in which all the "concetti" are cold and expressionless except that of the last triplet:

venga chi veder vuole entro un bel viso,
con una bianca fronte e un nero crine,
dipinto a chiaroscuro il paradiso.³⁰

or in the satire of Giacomo Lubrano, *A un Vantatore di Nobiltà*:

Odi tu, che degli avi i tronchi avvolti
vanti di gloria sol perchè vetusti:
la più antica famiglia è degli stolti.³¹

Needless to say, these examples are rare because sentiment is more often absent than present, or else the intuition of it is so vague as to have no expression.

²⁴ *G. S. L. It.*, lviii.

²⁵ Preface to *Saggi*, p. xxi.

²⁶ A similar opinion is expressed by Belloni in the review already mentioned.

²⁷ *Saggi*, 415-419.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 416-420, but the examples given there seem to me doubtful illustrations.

²⁹ *Lirici*, p. 377.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

Thus far I have attempted to take into consideration the aesthetic value of this body of verse—which seems to me small—but a responsible account of the collection must deal chiefly with other matters. Apart from all aesthetic considerations, it should be said that there is a great difference among “concetti,” some being clear, apt and witty, and others confused and inappropriate. Of the former kind is the following, in *Agli Accademici Oziosi di Napoli* by Vincenzo Zito:

L'ozio qui si trafigge e, a morte spinto,
in segno di vittoria ogn' alma intende
prendersi il nome del nemico estinto.
Così latino eroe, mentre che rende
l'Africa doma, dall' imperio vinto
per gloria il nome d'african si prende.²²

and the following by Pier Francesco Paoli: *Una Dama Spagnuola*:

Là dove more il sole
nata è costei; ned è stupor, se accolto
quanto ha di bello il sol porta nel volto.
Egli, pria che la sera
giunga a la tomba ibera,
per non lasciar senza splendor quei campi,
nel bel volto di lei lascia i suoi lampi.

These are witty “freddure,” but in the following example of Pietro Casaburi it is evident that the figure was not clear in the author's mind. He is speaking of the invention of the looking-glass:

Dell' arte opra migliore, onde gli oggetti
per cui gli egri amatori hanno il feretro,
par ch' a legar le fughe han gli anni astretti.²³

Confusion in these “concetti” is usually due to the disconcerting use of metaphorical language in close connexion with unmetaphorical. In *La Luna ed Endimione* Vincenzo Zito tells how the moon in the sky describes Endymion, and then:

Sente farsi nel sen dolce rapina,
condursi l'alma in placida prigionie;
cruda non più, qual videla Atteone,
al faretrato nume, ecco, s'inchina.²⁴

For a moment one imagines that Cupid, the “faretrato nume” is present, but he is not; it is only metaphorical language. And a still more commonplace example, similar to a hundred others, is in the sonnet of Giuseppe Artale on the death of Troiano Spinelli who has bequeathed him a sword, the second triplet of which is:

Quinci sol per dar pace al mio cordoglio,
col tuo nobile acciar penne temprando,
la morte che t'uccise uccider voglio!²⁵

²² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

Ingeniousness, "concettismo," is prevalent throughout the whole collection: no poet but amuses himself in this way, unless it be one or two, of whom only one or two sonnets are given. So much so that it seems to me that of the two productive elements, the sensuous and the ingenious, the second—unproductive as it is of aesthetic results—is a more important factor in this kind of lyric than the first, for there are many poems here in which is no observable sensuousness, but almost none in which ingeniousness has no part. It is the manner of thought of these poets, which is universally substituted for feeling and is their chief pride and aim.²⁶

The language in which these poems are written has been repeatedly described, satirized and condemned. It is pedantic, bombastic, exclamatory, sweetish. The famous parody of Manzoni in the Introduction to the *Promessi Sposi* represents seventeenth century prose at its worst. On reading these poems one cannot but be struck by the homogeneousness of the language which represents the patrimony of ideas common to the authors. It consists largely of innumerable minor "concetti," the ready-made stock-in-trade of anyone who chose to write lyric verse. It is beyond the object of this review to trace the origin of this material: no doubt nearly all of it could be found in Tasso and Petrarchists of the 16th century. It is sufficient to note that this common fund of expressions exists, and it is a significant phenomenon.²⁷

The satirists of this century, such as Salvator Rosa and Menzini, direct their attacks chiefly against the use of extraordinary "concetti,"²⁸ but it is evident that they are disgusted rather with the nauseous prevalence of the language of "concettismo." The vocabulary is small: a few hundred substantives, as many adjectives, still fewer verbs, form the nucleus of the stuff out of which most of these poems are made. It would be curious, but quite useless to know how many times are repeated some of the commonest words such as *ostro, manna, linfa, inostrare, inalbare, stanzare, lascivo, vitale, fero*; how often the expressions *lessere in rime, pura e serena, alto e canoro, erbe molli, erme rupi, ergere la palma, petto d'avorio*. Very many of the words are among the least pretentious, and are in living ordinary use to-day, and yet they are used so frequently as to acquire temporarily, a precious seventeenth century character, as, e. g., *grembo, fregio, aura, umore, esca, aureo, argenteo, altero, soave, ebbro, umido, stillare, lagrimare, ornare, irrigare*, etc.

Habits of construction which are common to these poets have been often noted as peculiarities of "secentismo." They consist chiefly in the abuse of what are known to rhetoricians by the names: "chiasmus," "hyperbation," "zeugma,"

²⁶ Ireneo Sanesi (in *La Cultura*, xxx, 21) also remarks that ingeniousness is more characteristic of this verse than sensuousness, altho in other respects he agrees with Croce: cf. p. 42, "l'ingegnosità . . . più ancora della sensualità, è . . . il carattere fondamentale del marinismo."

²⁷ The fact that the greater number of lyric poets repeat trite expressions without any apparent sense of their commonness, is an argument against the theory of Belloni (*Il Seicento*, p. 461 ss.) that the prime cause of "secentismo" is that craving for novelty which produced noble results in experimental science. And this in spite of the striving after new "concetti."

²⁸ Cf. also the parody of Stigliani in this collection, p. 16: *Sonetto nello Stile di Moda*.

"inversion" or "interposition" of nouns and their adjectives, "apposition" and the so-called "Greek accusative."³⁹ Adjectives and nouns are used chiefly in couples, and often they are synonymous; their respective positions are continually varied as if they were partners in a square dance; for example:

Poi sbuffando in parlar l'ira e l'orgoglio,
con un tuono di voce alto e spietato
fa palese il furor, noto l'orgoglio.⁴⁰

One of the most common features is the omission of articles, which is perhaps a Latinism:

vastissimo gigante
fa latte di speranza amore infante.⁴¹

Peculiarities, such as these and others, do not indicate, as one might expect, pedantry in exceptional care for the form of construxions; they are mere fashionable habits, and are found together with a frequent looseness of syntax in harmony with the impropriety of the "concetti," for example:

Spande l'ali la fama, e in ogni parte
le tue va in promolgar rime pregiate,
l'autor tacendo, non espresso in carte.
Son le tue glorie al maggior segno alzate;
chè creda il mondo ella l'occulta ad arte
che d'angelica penna or sian formate.⁴²

The fashionable language used by all the authors in this collection, which had, among other advantages, that of allowing the manufacture of "concetti" out of mere improprieties in terms,⁴³ was easy to learn. Frequently it served only to cover a lack of all ability either poetical or ingenious. A number of authors who seem to be mere followers of fashion in verse, without feeling or originality, are represented here by one, two or a few more poems,⁴⁴ but it was in the intention of the editor to exclude from this volume poems which are entirely characterless,⁴⁵ and so the body—no doubt large—of verse which is mere imitation of the rest of the lyric poetry of this century, is represented by only a few samples. In these the absence of feeling is, of course, more obvious than in the rest, since here the only disguise is the plain bombast and pedantry of the trade. These authors are to the other marinists who express some sensuousness or who are original in their "concettismo," as the "guittoniani" of the 13th century are to Guittone. On the other hand, the more original marinists and Marino himself, are to poets of true inspiration such as Tasso, Ariosto and Petrarch (except chronologically), as Guittone himself is to the poets of the

³⁹ Cf. *Lo Stile del Marino nell' Adone* ecc. (Pavia, 1901) by E. Canevari, who gives illustrations from Marino and others.

⁴⁰ *Lirici*, p. 262.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 474.

⁴³ E. g., where it is said of sleep: "tu l'agitato sen placido assali," *ibid.*, p. 371.

⁴⁴ E. g., Balducci, Palma, Rovetti, Abbelli, Marcheselli, Fortini, Augustini, Arlotto, Saracini, Trivulzio, Lunghi, De' Rossi, Artale.

⁴⁵ See *Lirici*, p. 525.

"dolce stil novo." Confessions such as those of Battista⁴⁸ and Fontanella,⁴⁹ which, we are told, are frequent,⁵⁰ remind one of Guittone's rather pathetic request to be instructed how to love,⁵¹ because it was fashionable to love and write love-lyrics.

Few indeed of the authors in this collection use any but the conventional phraseology. In Stigliani, for instance, conscious sobriety produces a negative effect only. For the most part, whenever a poet condescends to use simple language, the poverty of thought and feeling appear in flat prose of a ludicrous kind. Take for example Girolamo Fontanella, who is one of the most typical marinists, fertile as he is in original "concetti" and in variety of subjects; ineffective in treatment of sensuous subjects; clothed as his poems are usually in the conventional language with more exaggeration than is in others. Of him our editor says: "Se fosse corretto e sobrio quanto è fresco e vivace, sarebbe il più notevole tra i marinisti . . .".⁵² It is not to contradict this judgment—in which I agree, with some reservations—that I venture to point out that in the one poem in which Fontanella really shows sobriety of language, the result is a most comical prosiness.

This poem is *La Morte di Marianna*,⁵³ in which is related the story of the death of Mariamne at the hands of Herod. The story is told, for the most part, in the simple language suitable to tales for children, although the conventional phraseology and "concetti" reappear from time to time. It includes admonitions by the author, pointing the moral of the incidents, syntax that is sometimes lame, and anticlimaxes in plenty.

Herod is presented as the traditional tyrant of the marionette stage, a very satisfactory monster, blood-thirsty, lustful, talkative and self-satisfied; Mariamne as an innocent, beautiful and modest creature with golden hair. The king, his ambition and his other simple desires satisfied, sends for the heroine to feed his amorous cupidity:

Un dì, tornando ai suoi lascivi amori,
condur si fe' la sua real consorte,
che per abiti avea porpore ed ori.

but on finding her sulky and unresponsive, he exclaims:

Chi ti turbò, cor mio, ben mio? rispondi!
Farò, farò che'l temerario mora,
che fu cagion de' tuoi dolor profondi.
Oh Dio, che cosa è quel che il cor t'accora?
di pur, comanda pur; quanto richiedi
eseguirò, per compiacerti, or ora.
Non solo io vo' che'l regno mio possiedi,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Saggi* ecc., pp. 384-5.

⁵¹ *Le Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo* a cura di Fl. Pellegrini, Bologna, 1901. I. son. xxviii.

⁵² *Saggi*, p. 414.

⁵³ *Lirici*, pp. 257-266.

ma il dominio del cor siati concesso;
sia tuo quanto in Giudea scopri e rivedi.
Comanda pur, ch' obedirotti appresso;

She repulses him, rebuking his intemperate amorousness, and he is temporarily cowed. Next day, however, after dinner, he returns to the charge:

verso il caro suo ben corre anelante,
ma scacciato di nuovo, egli s'accorge
di nemica beltà trovarsi amante.

This time she gives him her true reason, and accuses him of plotting to kill her, concluding:

Non ti bastò d'avermi il padre ucciso,
soffogato il german, l'imperio tolto,
ed il trono usurparti e starvi assiso?

At this Herod's rage explodes:

A tal parlar tutto di rabbia ardente,
uscito fuor di sè grida il tiranno:
—Tanto ardisci tu dir, donna insolente?

He retires to his throne to ruminate:

Va nel trono a seder ricco e pomposo,
e del passato e ricevuto scorno
non può coi suoi pensier trovar riposo.

He calls a council, orders the arrest of his betrayer, and summons Mariamne to be condemned to death. She appears and does not spare language in vituperating Herod and his counsellors; but here the author intervenes to criticise his heroine. Beautiful and chaste as she is, she ought not to behave so boisterously:

Costei, quantunque sia di regia prole,
troppo nel suo garrir si mostra audace
ed in furie trabocca ed in parole.
Ma si scusi, ch'è alfin d'alma vivace;
e se troppo nel dir sciolta si vede,
è proprio della donna esser loquace.

Mariamne is willing enough to die:

Su, toglietemi—grida—or or la vita;
per non veder sì barbaro spietato,
bramo far da' viventi oggi partita.

Her mother appears and takes the king's side. She rails against her own daughter,

e la sgrida e l'accusa, odia e riprende;

she cuts off her daughter's hair. Then the queen, who had been before like a "stolida tigre," becomes as meek as a lamb, and is beheaded amid the tears of all but Herod:

Tal fu di Marianna il caso infausto,
la falsa accusa, il fin tragico e rio;
ma d'innocenza candido olocausto,
casta e bella in amor visse e morio.

Very many other examples could be given in which amusing poverty of expression is the result when these poets attempt to express themselves simply.⁸² the conventional language is the proper dress for their vague impressions and their artificial imagery, and without it there is often nothing left but laughable prose. So true is this that it seems to me that to the two productive elements emphasized by Croce, a third ought to be added, not less important than the other two, that is conventionality. Writers of this time in Italy breathed the atmosphere of a society in which (to use an expression of Emerson), "the virtue most in request" was "conformity" and this in spite of the general desire for novelty in detail, which has always been a characteristic of imitators. Much of this verse seems to have been written at the instigation of the fashion of the time; and no doubt all that which has been excluded by the editor as without character was so written. For example, the poems of Murtola are not included: but why did Murtola write verse? Presumably because to write conventional poetry was an easy way to be famous. The power of fashion in producing large quantities of more or less tolerable verse is seen still plainer in the 18th century, but it should be considered in the 17th also.

Wise words are in the preface to the series of essays by Croce (*Saggi*) in which he reviews the attitude of critics of the literature of this century, in the past; points out that criticism which consists in accusation or defense of "secentismo" is out of place, and remarks on the defects of modern criticism which confuses "storia dell' arte" and "storia della cultura." It is hardly to be doubted that one of the contributing causes of "secentismo" is Spanish influence. One of the essays, *I Predicatori Italiani del Seicento e il Gusto Spagnuolo*,⁸³ seems to put that influence beyond doubt, as far as the Italian preachers of the 17th century are concerned. It should be remembered, however, that sermons are a kind of literature which is peculiarly liable to "concettismo." The friar in Schiller's *Wallenstein*, cited by Croce,⁸⁴ finds his match in many a modern popular preacher: I remember, for instance, a modern address on total abstinence in which occurred a sentence somewhat as follows: "Beware of the man who 'only drinks now and then,' who 'only drinks more or less,' he always drinks now and not then, he always drinks more and not less."

As far as the Italian lyric is concerned, one is inclined to think—especially after reading the recent work of Lucien Paul Thomas⁸⁵—that Spanish influence,

⁸² Needless to say, nearly all the marinists are without sense of humor. A striking example is *La Mendicante* of Achillini (*Lirici* ecc., p. 49) in which the mendicant is asked why she begs for alms when she is rich with the gold of her head and the ruby and pearls of her mouth. Exceptions are the authors of parody and satire, Stigliani (p. 19) and Paolo Abriani (p. 197); the anonymous authors of *Zitella Romanesca Ritrosa* (p. 215) and *La Mosca nel Calamaio* (p. 216); Lorenzo Casaburi, and Tommaso Gaudiosi. Absence of humor is an important characteristic which the marinists share with D'Annunzio. Compare the preface to *Più che l'Amore* (Milano, 1907, p. v), where the author complains that the audience burst into a vulgar guffaw when the protagonist (beset by the police, who had surrounded his house) after tragic speeches, opened a window and said: "È una bella sera."

⁸³ *Saggi*, pp. 161-194.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁸⁵ *Gongora e le Gongorisme*, etc., Paris, 1911.

weak or strong, came from the kind of verse cultivated by Herrera and the imitators of Italian poets, rather than from Gongorism as Morsolin thought.⁸⁸ Subtle and involved thought expressed in obscure language is not a characteristic feature of our marinists, if we except a few poems of Pietro Michiele, Paolo Zazzaroni, Antonio Basso and Giuseppe Battista.

Important is the fact brought out by Croce that "concettismo" was popular, not only literary, and not aristocratic. In the extract he gives from "Il Canocchiale Aristotelico, ecc." by Tesauro occur the expressions: "concetti favoriti dal popolo" and "concetto predicabile appresso il popolo."⁸⁹ The fashion of "concettismo" was national. Even without Spanish influence, the previous history of Italian literature is sufficient to account for poetry such as this in the 17th century. It has often been remarked that the most admired poets of the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries have characteristics similar to those of the marinists,⁹⁰ and these characteristics are not so much artistic blemishes as mere barrenness of aesthetic production. The "concetti," for example, are chiefly ungainly products of a busy mind, not the result of any intuition, of any artistic expression. Such are the "spiritelli" of the "Dolce Stil Novo"; such are many comparisons in Petrarch, and part of the imaginative inventions of the Divine Comedy. It is notorious how these special manifestations of aesthetic sterility are more frequent still in the Petrarchists of the 16th century, and in Ariosto and Tasso. In 1882 D'Ovidio distinguished the phenomena of "secentismo" from "the rhetorical, the pedantic, the sweetish and the affected," admitting that the latter are symptoms of artistic ill-health in Italy as elsewhere, but denying that the former were indigenous in Italy.⁹¹ And yet, if "secentismo" in literature means anything, it connotes these general features with the addition of "concettismo" which can easily be shown to have been markedly present in all centuries of Italian literature, while the 17th century combined all these things more noticeably than other periods, and the combination was more prevalent in Italy than in other countries.

To seek for the cause of this state of things is somehow like seeking for the cause of all national characteristics, or, worse still, the cause of all things. Doubtless there is no such cause to be discovered: the cause, as Croce says, is in the phenomena themselves, the development of which, however, may be traced. When we have such investigations as are outlined by our editor in his preface to the *Saggi*,⁹² there will be no need to look farther.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, that flood of aesthetic expression which we call the Renaissance, had become divided into many channels, and flowed in some ever more slowly and scantily, in others more fully and faster. The literary and plastic arts began to be feeble and florid, while the so-called natural sciences became more and more vigorous and disciplined, and the logical or philosophic faculty, which feeds on all this material whenever it may come,

⁸⁸ *Il Seicento*, Milano, 1880.

⁸⁹ *Saggi*, p. 164.

⁹⁰ Cf. De Sanctis, *Storia d. Lett. It.* (Marino); D'Ovidio in *N. Ant.*, October 15, 1882; D'Ancona, *Studi sulla Lett. Ital. d. Primi Secoli*. Ancona, 1884 (Del Secentismo ecc.).

⁹¹ D'Ovidio, *op cit.*

⁹² Pp. xvii-xxi.

grew apace. The artistic sterility favored the growth of the less admirable, the unaesthetic, national peculiarities, and they became grave, overwhelming faults, so much so that the sum of them was likened to an epidemic disease, and named "secentismo."

The collection of poems we have before us affords us an opportunity not formerly available of judging the true nature and accessory features of marinitic verse. It is the work of a master who, though more able than most of his compeers to draw truth from literary material of any sort, does not disdain the labor necessary to provide excellent material of this kind for others to study.

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Confesion del Amante. Spanische Uebersetzung von John Gowers Confessio Amantis aus dem Vermächtnis von Hermann Knust, nach der Handschrift im Escorial herausgegeben von Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld. By JOAN GOER. Leipzig, Dr. Seele & Co. 1909, 8vo, pp. XXXII + 553.

On the death of Herman Knust in 1889, the copies of medieval works which he had accumulated in the course of a singularly industrious career, came into the possession of the Statsbibliothek of Leipzig. The *Confesion* is the second Old Spanish text of this collection to be edited by Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld. It is the prose translation by one Juan de Cuenca, of the lost Portuguese translation of the *Confessio*, which is attributed to a certain canon of the Lisbon cathedral, John Paym or Payn. The text is preserved in MS. G-II-19 of the Escorial library. The translation is nearly complete, very faithful and readable, and considering the roundabout transmission, tolerably free from corruption. The English version followed is the so-called first redaction (1390).

Knust was not at all preoccupied with questions of language, and it is easy to believe that what tempted him to make an edition of the *Confesion* was the opportunity which its didactic and folkloristic nature afforded for comparative annotation. Now, however, that the English version is available in Macaulay's annotated edition, it is as a linguistic monument that Juan de Cuenca's work is chiefly interesting, and as such Birch-Hirschfeld has elected to edit it, although his remarks on the language are limited to five pages. He has furnished an analytical table of contents, and has made use of the English work to elucidate the text. The Glossary and Index of Proper Names are partly due to Dr. Martin Wolf.

While it is not difficult to appreciate the pious impulse that led Birch-Hirschfeld to publish the *Conde Lucanor* which Knust had so nearly finished, the reviews of that work¹ should have convinced him that Knust's editions, valuable as they may be to the student of literature, do not conform linguistically to the best standards of his own day. Not only did he habitually print *v*, *u* and *b* according to modern usage, but he failed to recognize the *s* with horizontal upper stroke as equivalent to the older *z*. Since Baist first called attention to this form of *s* in 1880 there has grown up quite a little literature on the subject.²

¹Baist in *Literaturblatt für Germ. und Rom. Phil.*, 1900, col. 218 ff., and Maria Goyri in *Romania*, XXIX, 600 ff.

²Juan Manuel, *Libro de la Casa*, Halle, 1880, p. 207: Menéndez Pidal, *Romania* XXX, 436 ff.: Menéndez Pidal, *Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, p. 404: Tallgren, *Estudio sobre la Gaya de Segovia*, Helsinki, 1907, p. 28.

It is certain that Knust's copies, of which there are still some in Leipzig, unedited, should not be published without a word for word collation with their originals. In the present instance, by eliminating his probable errors and frank modernizations, we might have a text one stage nearer an original which is at best sufficiently remote.³

Birch-Hirschfeld states that the copy has been compared with the original for those passages which Knust marked as doubtful. However, in view of the fact that the editor gives no first hand description of the MS. and no paleographical notes, it is fair to assume that he did not himself examine it.

The language of the *Confisio* is Castilian. One might expect a number of portuguesisms. If they are there I have failed to notice them. There is, on the other hand, some evidence of the influence of an Aragonese scribe. Such evidence I take to be the confusion of *a* and *e* (*estralabio* 363.12, *especto* 385.29, *estermonia* 144.12, *estrologia* 211.25, *malenconia* often, *selvia* 392.8); the separation of vowels by *h* (*prohesa* 312.18, *Prohençia* 116.26, *cahen* 404.11, *dihesa* "goddess" 230.26, *pohesia* 228.10, *naho* often, *traher* 407.22, *vehedor* 432.26, *provehedor* 323.22, *comprehende* 509.30); *g* in the present of certain verbs (*fuiga* 438.2, *fuygas* 36.25, *ringo* 186.11, *costringa* 438.10); *pl* = Cast. *ll* (*planto* and *plorar* often); *ll* = Cast. *j* (*tallada* 375.21); initial *es* = Cast. *des* (*esviar* 146.31); finally *devantar* often for *levantar*. This form B-H. corrects always, but I find it in Casañal Shakery, *Epistolario Baturro*, Zaragoza, 1907, p. 10 and p. 11. Cf. *debantaronse*, Pidal, *Infantes de Lara*, p. 269 note 1, var. of MS. t of the *Chronica* of 1344. Cf. also Sp. *dintel* and Goer 503.31 *Dalyda* = *Dalya*.

Many of the editor's emendations are good. The *Confessio*, though not always quoted accurately, has been used intelligently. It is unfortunate and incomprehensible that many passages have been emended which are perfectly good as they stand. Some of these will be pointed out in the textual notes which follow.

2.1 *tomo*, r. *commo*.—6.23 *Avinon*, r. *Aviñon*.—6.27 *trhe*, r. *trahe*.—9.22 *entero*, r. *enpero*. Cf. Gower I, 527 "bot plenerliche upon ous alle."—23.3 *Cadino*, r. *Cadmo*.—23.4 *lançan do*, r. *lançando*.—23.6 *bosinas*, r. *bozinas*.—28.10 remove comma, place one after *complido* and another after *de*, l. 11.—33.34 r. *que que* (or *quien*) *en la verdad falso es, que nò pueda*.—44.8 *piel de fueles* is not *faltige Haut*. This is one of the few passages where the translator has shown any originality of metaphor.—49.16 *que mudo*, r. *quemudo* not *quemado*. Cf. *perdudo*, Biblia I-j-6, *Romania* XXVIII, 395.—89.10 *demando que de que creencia era*, editor removes first *que*. Still cf. 135.19, *preguntole que en que diablo pensava*; also *pregunto Sancho al huested que que tenia para darles de cenar*, D.Q. II, 59; *pescuraron que que oviera*, *Engaños*, p. 52; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire* III, p. 652 (§ 577).—95.9 *la avia fallado e guardo* needs no emendation, this tense alternation being frequent in Old Sp.—100.19 *guarte* is good.—146.31 *esviar* need not be emended to *desviar*. See above and *Libro de Alixandre*, ed. Morel-Fatio, p.

³In the case of certain proper names it is very possible that the corrupt reading of the text is due to Knust. Such are *Senerus* 443.7, r. *Seuerus*; *Alacorni* 392.1, r. *Alacorui*; *Solius* 166.6, r. *Solins*; *Soraster* 370.32, r. *Zoraster*; *Cancer* 507.28, r. *Cauçer*. For this last case compare Macaulay's Gower, II, p. CLXVIII, where Fr. Antolin in an extract furnished to Macaulay, reads *Caucer*. This extract differs widely from the corresponding passage in K's text.

XXVII.—159.22 remove *ado*.—170.22 *qual* needs no correction, being equal to "as". Cf. Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik* 62.8.—177.1 *si [a] alguna cosa*, vocal embebida?—209.36 *que [a] amor son pertenecientes*.—212.5 *Cefalo*, r. *Cefalon*.—216.26 construction does not require subjunctive as emended.—229.16 B-H. corrects *seguir seya* to *seguir sera*, apparently not recognizing the cond. although there is another, *querrelar me ya* in 298.30.—242.6 *Pitonus*, r. *Pitonius* or *Pitornus*.—244.25 place comma after *fusia* and remove that after *peñas*, l. 26.—245.32 should be left. A plural verb with *ninguno* is not rare in Old Sp.—245.32 *salva*, r. *salvo*.—262.30 r. *por manera que aunque no quisiere*.—268.9 *levando* corrected by editor to *llevando*! Also 281.27 *levolas* to *llevolas*. He admits however *luzia*.—272.9 r. *que muy bien fuese el [a] aquella tierra*.—275.10 *yvnçible*, r. *yvnvesible*. Cf. 282.10.—275.32 *la serpiente* is possible. Cf. *infanta*, *sirvienta*.—286.14 r. *sahuesos*. Cf. *ahuela* 40.10 and *ahenençia* 17.7.—291.2 *especies*, r. *especies*.—320.18 r. *con enemiga*.—324.26 *aunque alcan a Dios*. Editor inserts *las manos*, though reference is undoubtedly to elevation of the Host.—325.22 *vos cre* needs no correction. Cf. Goer 444.5 *fase de mi lo que por bien tovieredes*. It is frequent in *La Lozana Andaluza*. See Hanssen, *Grammatik* 29.2.—332.32 *Elena*, r. *Eleno*.—386.31 *Sodiaco*, r. *Zodiaco*.—267.30 *ofreçiol*, B-H. doesn't admit this form. I see no objection to keeping it. Staaff, *Etude sur les pronoms abrégés*, Upsala, 1906, p. 149, says that there are no cases in the *Third Cronica General*, but fails to mention that the MS. is of the XVIth century.—391.16 apropos of the herb *borum nigrum* editor incorrectly quotes Gower VII, 1327 "the Vertuous ele"! G's line is "Is hote Eleborun the blake".—398.27 *Sorobabel* r. *Zorobabel*.—431.12 *Jacob*, r. *Joab*. Cf. Gower VII, 3867 "and slouh Joab in such a wise".—450.5 editor does not admit *la fem. indir.* but restores it in 459.28.—455.6 *tenprar*, r. *tenptar*. Gower VII, 5447 "to tempte a man".—455.8 r. *con otras estorias e mesturada*.—467.7 *despio* (= *despidió*) is possible. Cf. Schuchardt, *Die Cantes flamencos*, Halle, 1881, p. 70.—467.21 r. *e seyendo*.—469.18 r. *fisiese una camara para*. Gower VII, 82 "a chambre for this man pourveie".—493.27 *carnaval*, r. *carcañal*.—501.27 *Canata*, r. *Canaça*.

The word lists are very carelessly done. There are many cases of words incorrectly recorded, and numerous omissions, among them the following. *abto* 118.19, 120.32; *açebta* 88.18; *achates* 391.29; *agramente* 191.34; *aguarismo* 374.20; *alexos* (adv.) 425.8; *alonge* 296.31; *alonyado* 19.18; *aluenie* 10.11; *amargosas* 449.33; *amaynar* 34.6; *a presa* 144.24, cf. *a grant priesa* 144.21; *bacado* 69.31; *Bel* 242.20; *ben* 329.27; *Benus* 148.4 and elsewhere; *berrillus* 391.23; *Bulcano* 228.12; *çafyr* 391.20; *cansedad* 42.15; *Capiscornio* 211.13; *carboncolo* 24.35; *caretativo* 122.18; *cavalleroso* 228.17; *casco* 55.12; *çeçar* 317.8; *çelebro* (subst.) 241.7; *cercunstancias* 168.17; *Claudino* 39.25; *colora* (= *ira*) 379.3; *commun* 7.9, 9.15; *compusision* 13.22; *comunt* 188.4; *compania* 140.6; *correbeçion* 8.1; *Coste* 89.12; *cuidoso* 66.26; *descontra* (prep.) 147.9; *desperta* (adj.) 481.24; *destenprado* 126.16; *deyso* 41.25; *diesa* 21.19, 23.16, cf. *diosa* 30.18; *dioso* 135.18; *elixer* 201.25; *eltropios* 384.29; *enbeudose* 86.24; *ençusiar* 165.6; *escripsis* 230.14; *escuros* 34.12; *escusaçion* 33.16; *espeçial* (adv.) 82.33; *esperençia* 6.22; *evas* 32.15; *fantastigos* 238.36; *fasion* 257.16; *ferrunbre* 201.15; *fiminino* 31.18; *fortuna* (= *adversidad*) 475.24; *geumetria* 374.17; *girgonça* 291.32; *Gorgoneas* 24.3; *grasçia* 95.30; *guernida* 57.13; *Heneas* 240.7; *Josefas* 199.13; *levado* 64.7; *liña* 301.25; *malatia* 120.4; *mengoso* 499.7; *mercador* 233.7; *minçion* 498.2; *misiricordia* 422.20; *moltitud* 429.16; *monimento* 218.6, 482.21; *mormuraçion* 39.14; *mormurar* 37.25;

mumento 172.23; mur 150.30; Nereides 239.11; Ninos 299.32; osequias 306.36; otrie 159.29; pasamente (adv.) 352.25; Pasifa 300.11; pennados 141.24; pescuego 10.23; Píes 390.10; Pluton 205.31; posision 219.31; primulla 391.30; príncepe 475.25; Promoteus 199.18; Prone 501.24; providiència 10.16; pulícia 419.13; pusilaminidad 426.17; quistion 40.21; rrecadar 151.3; rreçucitar 351.9; rrefierta 319.13; rregradeçer 314.35; rreguarda 99.33; rrelijon 477.32; rromeraje 466.14; sardis 393.21; senificar 13.26; serayna 376.27; soleme 483.1; soterraña 322.3; spiritu 45.27; spirituales 373.25; supitamente 17.3; supitaña 482.11; supito 309.29; temiente 80.9; tenpestoso 132.5; Tereus 304.28; topamiento 57.21; tronpeço 188.9; umill 94.19; vellegino 270.17; vento (subst.) 88.22; xristal 188.30; ynfortunamiento 357.20; ynorancia 441.18; ynquiciçion 33.5; ynsolas 233.28; yntinçion 6.6; yproquita 26.30; ysperencia 201.28.

The making of a word-list may seem an ungrateful task, but so long as our knowledge of the Old Spanish tongue is in its childhood, the editor who makes his glossary convincingly complete may be sure of the fervent gratitude of his fellows.

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Die Bataille d'Arleschant des altfranzösischen Prosaromans Guillaume d'Orange.
By FRITZ REUTER. Halle, Buchdruckerei Hohmann, 1911. Pp. 164.

The purpose of this volume is to indicate the source of the prose recital which the author calls the *Bataille d'Arleschant*, and to find a place for it in the grouping of the manuscripts of *Aliscans*.

The prose recital exists in two manuscripts, both preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. français 1497 (which the author designates *A*), and MS. français 796 (which he designates *B*). Before stating his opinion as to the relation of the source of *A* and *B* to the thirteen extant manuscripts of *Aliscans*, the author makes a few brief remarks concerning the manuscripts of *Aliscans*. The critical content of these remarks makes no claim to offering anything new, and has merely an expository value.¹ The author had before him, in addition to the printed editions of *Aliscans*, copies which had been made of MSS. *C*, *L*, *e*, *d*, *M*, and of parts of *b* and *T*,² also a copy which he calls a rotograph, of *m*. We cannot refrain from wondering whether these copies are the unfortunate ones mentioned on p. vi of the edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch. If so (as seems probable), I have elsewhere shown the untrustworthy and unscholarly character of these copies.³

On pages 9-31, Mr. Reuter gives a skilful summary of the events of the prose version, and, on page 34, a table showing the presence or absence, in the

¹The author cites the statement of Mr. Paul Rasch, p. 9, concerning the close of MS. *m*: *vid.* the edition of *Aliscans* by Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch, p. 530, comment to variant 8242. The statement that *m* closes with the line indicated is not strictly correct, since quite a number of words additional exist in this manuscript.

²The *laissez* which were lacking extend from *laisse* 122 (which is on folio 129 v° of the MS. of Milan) to *laisse* 181 (which is on folio 138 r°).

³*Romania*, xxxv, p. 309 ss., and S. A. Bacon, *The Sources of Wolfram's Willehalm*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1910, p. 8.

manuscripts of *Aliscans*, of seventeen episodes and important passages of the recital in prose. This table is well constructed, and indicates grafically the conclusions which he states on page 36: that no one of the manuscripts preservd can alone have servd as the original of *P* (the prose version); that *P* was either based on a MS. which has disappeard, or that it was derivd from several MSS. The MS. of London resembles most closely the events of *P*, and that of MS. 34,639 of the Bibliothèque Nationale comes next. Along with these two affiliated MSS., he mentions MS. *e*. In MSS. *C* (Berne) and *m* (Boulogne), on the other hand, a number of important episodes of *P* are lacking. These conclusions are well supported by the table on page 34.

The most valuable part of Mr. Reuter's volume is that in which he gives the Old French text of the *Bataille d'Arleschant* (pp. 37-162). Mr. A. Terracher had already printed, from the same MSS., what precedes the *Bataille d'Arleschant*.⁴ An examination of a few pages of the text as printed by Mr. Reuter will enable us to judge how faithfully he has done his transcription.

Page 37, line 7 from the bottom: *l. compaignie*.—P. 38: third line, *l. Sar-rassins*; in line two of paragraf 2, *l. emmy*; in line twelve, *l. eschiné* (or *eschivé*: the author is not always consistent in rendering *u*). At the end of the same line, *l. tous*.—P. 40: third line before paragraf 5, *l. desservy*; in the following line, *eus*; second line of paragraf 5, *l. s'estoit*.—P. 41, line ninth: the word writen *vernit* is an erroneous reading of an obscure word. In the next line, *l. greslecte*, and two lines below, *ligier*. Eleven lines from the bottom of the page, *l. sa femme*, and in the second line from the bottom, *porroient*.—P. 42: fourteenth line from the bottom, *guectent*; eighth line from the bottom, *siege*.—P. 43: ninth line of paragraf 8, *metoies*; in the following line, *intencions*; two lines further on, *milieur*; in second line from the bottom of the page, *luy*.—P. 44: tenth line on the page, *lui donnast*; seventh line from the bottom, *couvint*.—P. 45: ninth line of paragraf 11, *Gloriëcte*.—P. 46: in line tenth, *prouchainement*; in eighth line from the close of paragraf 12, after *fet* the MS. has *elle*; in the fifth line from the bottom of the page, *guecte*.—P. 47: sixth line from the close of paragraf 13, *l. vassal*.—P. 48: in the ninth line before the close of paragraf 14, *l. Gloriëcte* and *Sarrasins*; five lines further on, *palaix*, a spelling which recurs more than once in the MS.—P. 49: in the third sentence of paragraf 16, the words: "*ne ja ne visés si fort aperté que vous aiés faicte*," are not very clear. Woud not the idea be better exprest, if we took *aperte* as a substantive formd after the verb *aperdre*? In any case, the word *aperté* does not make sense. Three lines further on: *l. pourrés*, and, in the next line, it may be that the MS. has: *Et tant qu'est à moy*? In the following line, the last word in the sentence should be *parte*.—P. 50: in the eleventh line of paragraf 18, *l. famine*, instead of *fainme*; three lines further on, *Karlemaine*.—P. 52: sixth line, *l. Si se passa*.—P. 53: eighth line, *l. lessée*, and, in the third line of paragraf 2, *laissée*; the word is *chevaluchié*, in the ninth line of this paragraf, and, in the fourth line before its close, *l. cnverrouillie*.—P. 54: in the second line of paragraf 4, the editor prints *commune* (five lines above, we have *commune*). He may be correct, but the MS. appears to have a word with an *i* towards its end, perhaps the word *covvine*, one of whose meanings woud suit the passage equally well with *comune*.—P. 56: eighth line from the bottom, *l. tant*, instead of *tout*.—P. 58: second line, *celluy*;

⁴ *La Chevalerie Vivien*, Paris, H. Champion, 1909, p. 214-87.

towards end of the same line, l. *qui*; in ninth line, l. *actendant*; in the fourth line of paragraf 4, l. *assi*; in tenth line from close of the page, l. *visée*.

At this point in the narration of the *Bataille d'Arleschant* occurs a passage of interest to students of medieval customs and amusements. The king has sent Sansson to see who the person is who has just arrivd before the palace. Sansson returns and says:

C'est Guillaume d'Orange, le voustre frere que j'ay la bas trouvé en celle court sur ung grant cheval monté, qui tant est merveilleux a regarder que saouller n'en pouroye mon apetit. Car de prime face ne le congneus, ains cuiday que ce feust une fixation ou ung parsonnage fait et composé proprement pour faire une risée ou ung entremes, pour esjouir .i. prince en plain disigner et aultrement.

We find, on p. 72: "rire par maniere d'entremes," and, on p. 158, in the description of the merry-making of a wedding, occur the words: *menestrels, joieux instruments, dances, esbatements, entremes* (p. 158). Mention should be made here of another interesting passage, to be found on p. 53. Guillaume has arrivd at Orleans, just as he rode from the battle, that is, with soild and broken armor. The description continues thus:

Et a son cheval n'avoit boucle ne conroye qui ne feust despecié ou si povrriz que rien ne tenoit a la selle qui vaulsist, et samblast a le voir que ce feust .i. vout de parsonnage habillié en telle maniere.

P. 59: in the third line from the bottom, l. *aprouver*.—P. 60: in the second line of paragraf 12, l. *actendant*; ninth line from the bottom of the page, l. *ingract* and *habandonne*.—P. 61: fifth line, l. *ung*; eighth line from close of paragraf 13, l. *seullet*, not *seull et*; third line from the close, *par avant*.—P. 62: seventh line from bottom, *Normendie*; second line from bottom, l. *monsreray*.—P. 63: second line of paragraf 16, l. *intencion*.—P. 65: seventh line from the top, *asseurée*; nearly at the middle of the page, *malgractieusement*; fourth line from the close of the page, *appaisée*.—P. 66, line eleven: it is possible that the MS. reads *voy* instead of *loy*? In the third line from the close of paragraf 19, l. *esraigé*.—P. 67: in the first line, l. *vengeroit*; in line thirteen, l. *despiteusement*; in same line, *peut*; in the last two lines of paragraf 20, l. *avanture* and *n'en est il*.—P. 68: sixth line, l. *le scay*; just above the middle of the page, l. *la fera ardoir*; fifth line from close of paragraf 21, l. *regrecta*.

The list of errata, p. 162, includes a number of errors and inexplicable things.

Mr. Reuter deserves our thanks for having treated his subject with sobriety and restraint—for having been unwilling to "pad" his work. We thank him above all for placing before us a text of such value to students of the cycle de Guillaume. In fact, if we regard the subject matter of this text, we shall find a number of points which have an important bearing. Space is lacking to mention more than two of these points here. We are told on p. 44 that Baudus kills Guillaume's horse. I have stated elsewhere² that neither the *Willame* nor *Aliscans* nor the *Chevalerie Vivien* appears to offer such information, but that *Foucon*, in the MS. of Boulogne, describes the event: *Baudus l'ocist de soz moi en l'estrée*. The prose version, then, supports *Foucon* in this important point, and serves to draw attention again to the crudity and improbability of line 2161

² *Romania*, xxxviii, pp. 4, 5.

of the *Willame*, where the remaniment of this epic made it seem desirable to have the horse perish by the hand of his own master. Another passage of interest is found on p. 56, where Guillaume relates:

comment les Sarrasins estoient dessendus en Arleschant, comment il y avoit ses nepveux envoyés, comment il meesmes y estoit allé a tout son povoir, comment il avoit rengiés ses batailles contre Desramé, etc.

Guillaume gives further details:

Vray est que moy, estant a Orange, n'a mye ung mois d'uy, me vindrent nouvelles que le roy Desramés avoit grant nombre de Sarrassins envoyés par deça mer pour mon pais gaster, pillier, apouvrir et destruire. Sy envoyai pour cuidier rompre leur entreprise tout mont bernaige, jusques a .xx. mil compaignons, qui menerent Vivien, Gerart de Commarchis, etc.

The Christians are defeated and forced to retreat "en Arle ou ils furent asseigiés par Desramé, qui onques ne me ayma." This setting merits a comparison with the *étapes de la légende*, as I sketcht them in the *Romania*, xxxiv, p. 264 ss. A further point of interest: the aid which Guibor gave to her husband is mentiond in the prose version during his flight from the field of battle. In his lament, he exclaims of Guibor as he flees alone: "Elle aura son tresor mauvairement employé!" He refers to the *tresor* which she expended for the expedition: *vid. Chevalerie*, 1174-81 (MS. of Boulogne, 1395-1404); cf. *Aliscans*, 1842-48. The passage in the prose version is on p. 40. It would be interesting to cite here the long description of the strange, uncanny horse of Esrofle, which Guillaume conquers (*vid.* pp. 41, 48, 53, 54, 58, 59). This description is to be compared with that of the horse conquerd by Bertran and ridden to court by him in the *Nerbonesi* (vol. I, pp. 425, 430, 444). The argument which I have elsewhere advanced that the messenger in *Aliscans* was, in the sources of that poem, the Bertran of the *Siège d'Orange*, appears to me strengthend by these passages of the prose version. It is interesting to see Aimer included with Guillaume in the following apostrophe of the king:

Haa Dieux! verray je ja le jour qu'on me raporte que Aÿmer et Guillaume soient mors ou finés; car par ceulx et par leurs entreprises oultraigeuses est mon royaume plus foulé que par tous ceulx du monde, et mon peuple tant travaillé que il deveroit incessamment leur mort soushaider! (p. 59).

The story says later (p. 88) that Aimer bears the surname *le chétif* because he was the most *fortuné* of all the brothers. The compiler even calls him *Aÿmer le fortuné*. The text does not mention the presence of Garin. Those who are interested in the geografy of *Aliscans* will see at once the testimony rendered by the name of the prose version, where *Arleschant* speaks with sufficient clearness (this spelling is that of MS. 796). Let us add that the Rhone is mentiond (pp. 43, 101). A sentence of possible value to students of the cycle occurs on p. 109. Preparations are being made to join battle with the Saracens: "Puis ordonna Guillaume deux batailles de gens que Charlemaine lui avoit livrées." Is *Charlemaine* for *Louÿs*? If not, we may have here a reference not extant in the French poems but mentiond in the *Nerbonesi*, vol. I, pp. 266, 370, 406. We read in the above passages that Charlemagne, before his death, promises Guillaume ten thousand men, wherewith to acquire a realm for himself. In a number of cases, the words are not properly divided in the text as the editor prints it; for example, *destours d'Arcalde* (p. 123) should be: *des tours d'Arcalde*.

The punctuation of the text could occasionally be improved, as in the brief sentence in line thirteen, p. 153, which should close with a point of interrogation.

The prose of the *Bataille d'Arleschant* is the work of a person of taste and ability. Not infrequently the story is admirably told. The paragraph numbered 7, beginning on p. 159, for instance, is beautifully done, and has true literary form. At the close of this paragraph, the adapter—I was going to say the poet—lapses into verse, and cites *les mos du romant ancien* (that is, of *Aliscans*, 8392-8411). He adds a verse of his own: *A ces parolles, Guillaume la baisa*. The lines as he gives them differ somewhat from those of MSS. *a, L, d, e*, which offer this passage. They appear to be cited from memory, and almost have the air of having been learned by the adapter as a "speech" when a child. The following lines concerning the lover of *la belle Alix* and his union with her are worthy of the author of *Aucassin et Nicolette*: "si doucement se maintenoit aveques elle que c'estoit toute amour et douleur que l'assamblée d'eulx deulx."

R. W.

La Phonétique castillane, Traité de Phonétique descriptive et comparative. Par MOLTON AVERY COLTON, Chargé de cours à l'Académie navale des États-Unis. Paris, 1909 (American agent, Geo. W. Jones, Bookseller, Annapolis, Md.).

La Phonétique castillane is the result of several years of investigation, carried on not only in Spain itself, but also in the Philippine Islands, where for some time the author was inspector of schools. The MS. was completed, and printing was begun, in 1909, while Mr. Colton was still a student in Paris; owing to unavoidable delays, however, the book has only just appeared. Although the author is an American, he has written in French in order to reach the largest possible public interested in Spanish studies. The work is dedicated to Professor Henry Roseman Lang.

The book is epoch-making in the study of Castilian phonetics. In it Mr. Colton not only controverts many of the essential contentions of such hitherto authoritative books as Fernando Araujo's *Estudios de Fonética castellana* (Santiago de Chile, 1894), but, constructive as well as destructive, draws positive conclusions from his investigations, conclusions so logical that they cannot fail to convince unprejudiced readers. The general conclusion of the study is that many of the Castilian sounds present various shades of pronunciation, from one extreme to the other, without lines of demarcation as to the middle forms, but clearly distinguishable as to the extremes.

As an example of Mr. Colton's important results we may cite the chapter on vowels. Araujo contended that Castilian contains practically only five vowels; that, although each of these vowels has various shades of pronunciation, it is practically impossible to discover any regularity in the occurrence of these shades. "Todo esto," he said, "son matices flotantes sin fijeza en general que varían de una persona á otra influidos por mil causas diferentes que hacen imposible ó muy difícil la reglamentación de estas fugaces variantes." F. M. Josselyn, in his *Études de Phonétique espagnole* (Boston, 1907), arrived at the same conclusion: "Je ne crois pas que ces changements soient uniformes; on dirait plutôt qu'ils sont régionaux ou même personnels." But Mr. Colton shows that certain of these shades, at least two for each vowel, are due to definite and regular influences; in other terms, that they uniformly recur under fixed conditions.

Of the factors which determine the quality of Castilian vowels, the most important is metaphony, which Mr. Colton defines as "l'influence qu'exerce la voyelle d'une syllabe sur la syllabe précédente." The discovery of the existence of metaphony in Castilian, not suspected heretofore—except for the influence, in certain cases, of an atonic *i* upon the preceding tonic vowel—is perhaps Mr. Colton's most important achievement.

Following are some of the other important matters which are put in a new light by *La Phonétique castillane*: the peculiar influence of strong accent on Castilian vowels (less marked in the case of *u* and *i*), both on their nature, and on their method of uniting with a following consonant; the nasalization of vowels; quantity, both of vowels and of consonants; the influence of contact on consonants.

One of the best things about *La Phonétique castillane* is that the long and detailed scientific expositions are followed by statements of practical results. Hence the book will be not only valuable to investigators, but also an aid to anyone desiring to attain a correct pronunciation. For example, the learner will no longer be compelled to content himself with one pronunciation for each of the five vowels, and to forego any attempt to attain the vowel-shades, which, with Araujo as a guide, would surely be a hit-or-miss proceeding; he can now learn, by means of the orthoepic rules given by Mr. Colton, when to use the most important shades of each vowel.

In view of the intrinsic excellence of the book, it is the more to be regretted that it suffers somewhat from looseness of arrangement. In the author's defense it is only just to say that the book was written under certain difficulties which prevented him from giving his work a final revision. In a second edition this fault, entirely extrinsic, may be easily remedied, and at the same time the too frequent typographical errors of the present edition may be rectified. Another edition should also have a general index.

It is unfortunate, also, that the tone of *La Phonétique castillane* is as controversial as it is. While this is to a certain extent a necessary evil, inasmuch as an investigator who signally advances the study of a subject cannot but express disagreement with his predecessors, we feel that Mr. Colton's manner of doing so is often too stinging. It is to be hoped that this feature of the book will not embitter whatever unfavorable criticism there may be, and retard the universal acceptance which Mr. Colton's results will surely receive in time.

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS.

SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

NOTES AND NEWS

Professor John R. Wightman, of Oberlin College, has been granted leave of absence for next year.

Mr. Francis B. Barton, docteur de l'Université de Paris, is instructor in Romance languages at Williams College.

Dr. R. T. Hill, of Yale University, announces that he is preparing an edition of the Old French Arthurian poem *De Gunbaut*.

Mr. Lawrence M. Riddle, a recent student at the Johns Hopkins University, is at present instructor in French at Allegheny College. Miss Hazel Bullock, who formerly held this position, is passing the year at Paris and Grenoble.

In the altered course of study as adopted at Amherst College, one requisite for graduation is a sight examination in one of the Romance languages and in German. This examination, we suppose, like that prescribed at Harvard for entrance on the junior year, is oral.

The Instituto Internacional, at the annual meeting of its corporation at Madrid, elected Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, a member of the advisory council.

Mr. G. Hall, late of the University of California, is instructor in French and Spanish at the University of Texas.

Miss Alma le Duc and Miss Anna Chenot are instructors in French at Smith College.

Dr. Chandler R. Post, of Harvard University, intends to publish a *History of Spanish Allegory*, in the Harvard series on comparative literature.

Mr. Charles Carron a graduate of the University of Paris, is instructor in French at Rochester University.

Dr. Max Walter will publish with Scribner's *The Theory and Practice of Teaching French* (and a similar book on German). These volumes will offer an exact demonstration of the model lessons which he conducted last year at the Teachers College, Columbia University.

An interesting pamphlet on *Instruction in French and German in Ohio* was published by Professor C. H. Handschin, in No. 8 of the *Miami Bulletin*, Miami University.

Professor J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University, is to prepare a volume for the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*.

H. Champion, 5 Quai Malaquais, Paris, publishes annually a *Guide des étudiants à Paris: littérature et langues romanes*. This guide will be found very useful to foreign students.

OBITUARY.

Gustav Gröber, Professeur de Philologie Romane à l'Université de Strasbourg, a succombé le 5 novembre 1911 à une maladie dont il souffrait depuis cinq ans.

En apprenant cette triste nouvelle à mes confrères, une voix me pousse, non seulement à exprimer les pieux sentiments de regret pour la perte que nous éprouvons tous, mais aussi, et surtout, à parler de ce qui affronte la mort, du souvenir du maître et des impressions vivantes et immortelles qui se rattachent à l'image et à la personnalité du défunt.

Chaque encyclopédie peut énumérer ce qui touche à la carrière, aux productions savantes de Gröber, tout romaniste contemporain ou futur connaît et apprécie ou appréciera l'importance capitale des travaux de celui qui fut en droit de terminer la préface de la 2^{ème} édition de son *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* par la déclaration: "Wie die erste, dürfte daher auch die zweite Auflage berufen sein, der ferneren romanistischen Forschung die Wege zu weisen."

Mais aucune notice biographique ne saurait faire ressortir toute la droiture, la noblesse, la force calme et imposante de l'homme et du maître Gröber. Ceux seuls qui ont eu le bonheur de le connaître de plus près savent qu'il pouvait leur servir de modèle, d'exemple à suivre, au titre de maître et d'ami aussi bien qu'à celui d'érudit. Avec un dévouement infatigable et vraiment paternel il restait à la disposition de ceux qui venaient à lui, leur donnant, sacrifiant le meilleur de son temps pour les initier dans la méthode, dont la "*Selbstkritik*" fut le principe premier.

Son choix fut bon, son conseil fertile et sa peine lui valut la satisfaction de voir une bonne part de chaires de Philologie Romane occupées par ses élèves. Pour nous, il ne mourra jamais, car nous passerons à nos élèves à nous les préceptes que nous avons reçus de lui, nous maintiendrons vivante l'admiration de l'érudit, la vénération du maître et l'affection de l'ami.

JEAN B. BECK.

PROFESSEUR DE PHILOLOGIE ROMANE À L'UNIVERSITÉ D'ILLINOIS.

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